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THE
ORATION OF DEMOSTHENES
UPON THE CROWN,

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH, WITH NOTES,

AND THE

GREEK TEXT,

WITH VARIOUS READINGS SELECTED FROM WOLFF, TAYLOR,
REISKE, AND OTHERS.

BY

HENRY LORD BROUGHAM, F.R.S.,

AND MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF FRANCE.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE attempt to translate the Greatest Oration of the Greatest of Orators into a language so different in its frame and idiom from that noble tongue in which it was pronounced, had long appeared so hopeless, that, after intentions repeatedly formed, the plan was for some years abandoned.

During the period of my retirement from Parliament after the general election in 1812, I had frequent communications upon this subject with one of the best scholars and most acute, though severe, critics of his time, my lamented friend Lord Dudley; and it was principally an argument of his that then turned me aside from the project. When pressed with the considerations which naturally suggested themselves in favour of it—among others the example of Cicero, who had made the same experiment on the Latin language,—his answer was calculated to make me pause, from its appearance of sense and force. “Either,” said he, “the translation is

addressed to those who know the original, or to those who do not. The former cannot want it; the latter cannot materially profit by it; for no translation can give an adequate idea of the original."

Subsequent reflection has served to remove the deep impression which Lord Dudley's argument had made.

It must be considered, in the first place, that even to scholars the experiment is not without interest of trying how far the two languages can be used so as to render in the one the thoughts couched originally in the other; and even to scholars the comparative trial of the structures of the two, their resemblances, their differences, and their contrasts, is very interesting. Then, if indeed this be not included in the preceding observation, there can no more accurate method be fallen upon for well apprehending the force and genius of both tongues than such a comparative trial. Many things are sure to be thus observed which had previously escaped our attention: nor is it to be doubted that the sense, as well as the diction, of the original, is much more thoroughly perceived and felt after such an attempt. I can truly say in the present case,

that although the exquisite original had been, for many long years, familiar to me in all its parts, most of which I knew by heart, yet I never felt its incomparable beauties, both in the substance and in the diction, until I made the attempt at transferring them into our Saxon tongue; and although there is far less benefit in this respect to be derived from reading the work, yet whoever shall, in perusing, compare it carefully with the original, can hardly fail to profit considerably, and to discover merits and peculiarities which had before escaped him. There is something in this process resembling the advantage we gain in relishing the beauties of the ancient dramatists, from seeing their pieces performed instead of reading them. Many a scholar has felt how greatly his notions of Terence were improved by seeing a Westminster play—however well acquainted he may have been with the original by previous study. The examination of the Greek Orator's passages, with a view to their being delivered to an English audience, the consideration of the effects which they are calculated to produce upon such an assembly, and the feeling of their effects as given in our mother tongue, is calculated to produce somewhat of the same effect.

The example of Cicero must here again be adverted to. No one could more thoroughly know the Greek than he did, hardly even the Athenians themselves. He had practised declaiming in that language so much as to speak it with perfect ease. When he sent his History, written in Greek, to Posidonius at Rhodes, desiring he would write one in purer Attic, that Rhetorician said that the perusal of it filled him with despair of being able to improve the diction. Nay, when Molo, a teacher of rhetoric at the same famous school, heard him declaim in Greek, he is said to have lamented the complete subjugation of his country, which must now yield the palm in Attic eloquence to the people whose arms had subdued her. Nothing, then, could have made the Great Roman undertake the task of translating the two Orations on the Crown, except the desire of trying an experiment such as we have been considering, probably with some such views as have just been stated. The loss of his Translation (of which the Introduction only has reached us) is deeply to be lamented. But we may venture to affirm that the English language is much better adapted to the task here exacted of it than the Latin. It is far richer in roots and in idiom; much

better adapted than the dialect of a barbarous people to express abstract ideas and the other thoughts which the progress of civility and refinement gives birth to; indeed in all respects except the want of flexion, it is better fitted to convey with closeness the sense of the Greek original. The complacency with which certain French artists have expressed a conviction that their language comes nearest to the Attic of any, should make us suspicious of our national partialities and slow to claim for our mother tongue any decisive superiority—for it shows how far prejudices will warp acute minds. Yet still there seems good ground for affirming that the English and German, and generally the dialects of Saxon or Teutonic origin, when improved and corrected by judicious importations from the ancient tongues are, of all others, if not the nearest in point of resemblance to the Greek, yet certainly the most capable of making its treasures accessible to those who are denied access to the original. Even against the superiority of the Latin in its conjugations and declensions (its greatest though not its only resemblance with the Greek) we may set off its want of articles; and how far its similar flexion has aided the work of transla-

tion may be seen by its failure where the exquisite diction of the Attic Orators was to be imitated. The famous passage in the *Παραπρεσβεία* of Æschines (*ταῦτα ἑκάστω ποιῶν, &c.*) which Cicero has translated in the Oration against L. Piso, (*"Hæ flammæ! Hæ faces!"* &c.,) being one where the merit lay in the sense, is far better given by him than either he himself has succeeded when parodying the beautiful climax in the *περὶ σεφάνου* (*οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἐγράψα δέ, &c.*) or Quintilian when professing to translate it, the exquisite diction being here the great beauty. In truth the similar flexion of the Latin carries us but a small way towards approaching the Greek. It has no articles, and so far, is inferior to the English; and as for particles, the Roman artists and ourselves are alike deficient in that great resource, as the equally signal failure of both in attempting the famous passage just mentioned may prove, the use of the particles being the source of the delicacy of the diction in that passage, and even of its perfectly luminous perspicuity, notwithstanding its extreme concision. The tenses which are peculiarly Greek, together with the particles, are certainly the great instruments by which such nice distinctions can

be maintained, and such delicate shades of meaning expressed; and in both these particulars the Latin and English are alike at fault. As for the rhythm, there is assuredly no advantage in the Latin over our own tongue. The English is as sonorous; it is more musical; it is more majestic; it is more various. At an immeasurable distance in all these respects from the Greek, our music is on the whole superior to the Roman.

It is, however, necessary here to remark that, of the scheme of Cicero's work, we can only form an idea from the few sentences of the Introduction which describe it very generally; and that it appears from these to have been anything rather than a plan of literal or close translation. He seems to have set himself the task not of saying in Latin what Demosthenes had said in Greek, but of speaking in Latin as Demosthenes would have done had he been a Roman and not an Attic orator. This may certainly increase our regrets for the work, but it by no means shows that the experiment on the powers of the languages was made. If on the other hand the plan was (as is barely possible) to show how Cicero himself, with his taste, his habits of composition, his turn of thought, would have treated

the same topics, all likeness to the original must have been lost, and we have little to regret in the work never having reached us; for in that case we have only lost one more Ciceronian oration.

Another object of translation, and which has by no means been lost sight of in the present work, is to assist the student of the Greek language as well as the student of the rhetorical art. It is chiefly in this point of view that the learned Master of Rugby School (now flourishing beyond all former example under his auspices) has condescended to favour the undertaking; and the advice and assistance which I have received from him during the progress of my labours, demand my grateful acknowledgments. With the exception of a few pages, the whole translation and notes have been submitted to Dr. Arnold; and I have in almost every instance adopted his views of the text when they differed from my own. If however anything remains which may be supposed erroneous, I desire it to be assumed either that the fault is in my having retained my own opinion, or that the passage was part of the few pages which he happened not to see.

It remains to mention the third object of this

work—the conveying to persons unacquainted with the original some notion of its innumerable and transcendent beauties. When one of the first scholars of the age, and the person of all I have ever known the most familiar with the Greek orators, urged me to undertake, or rather to complete the present work, (if I were to add also, the first statesman of his age, I should be spared the necessity of naming Lord Wellesley,) he was certainly misled by his friendly partiality of many years standing to think far more favourably of my fitness for the task than could be justified by the specimens which he had seen in the translation of the Chersonese Oration, published a year or two ago.* But with his advice there coincided the strong desire of some much-esteemed friends, admirable judges of composition and well versed in English oratory, to taste the streams which flow in such force from the perennial fountain of Attic eloquence, as near the well-head as their ignorance of the language would suffer them to approach. With them the experiment has proved eminently successful. They felt the wonderful power not only of the argument, but of the

* Appendix to Dissertation on Ancient Eloquence. Speeches, vol. iv.

richly crowded statement, and of the noble declamation, in a manner which clearly proved that the translation had preserved a considerable portion of the original. The music and the diction of course escaped; but upon the whole, this trial shewed in a very satisfactory manner that, at the least, whoever was accustomed to oratory would gain by perusing the translation some idea of the Demosthenean manner. I have been encouraged by another friend well acquainted with both ancient and modern oratory, and himself a most distinguished speaker,* to believe that even on persons little versed in the arts of composition, the closeness, the vigour, the rapidity of the original are calculated, though only "seen as in a glass darkly," to produce a great effect. It was a remark of this excellent and experienced judge, on reading some of the notes where particular passages are pointed out as well adapted to succeed in our Senate, that the whole oration is eminently of that description; and therein it assuredly differs prodigiously from almost all the compositions of Cicero.†

* Lord Lyndhurst.

† My learned friend also strongly urged me to undertake a task which I had long been contemplating, namely,

Such were the impressions under which this work has been persevered in, and such the encouragements which have enabled me to bear up against the innumerable difficulties of the task. Among these difficulties, it certainly would only be a becoming tribute to my predecessors were I to enumerate either their success or their failure. But, with every disposition to follow so customary a practice, I really cannot honestly bring myself to do so, especially considering the Notes with which I have been obliged to accompany the text. The reason of this must now be shortly explained.

No one can deny a great knowledge of the Greek language to such men as Leland, and Francis, and Cesarotti and Millot;* nor indeed is Dawson in this respect at all deficient; while an Imitation of the Great Oration, or some other ancient piece after the manner of Dryden's and Pope's Poetical Imitations. The delicacy of introducing parallel political topics, fertile as our times are of such, has hitherto restrained me.

* His translation will stand a comparison with any other; it is indeed, in many respects, deserving of much admiration; and as far as a foreigner may judge, it stands very much out from the common level of Italian prose. The Abate's taste, however, is often at fault. What can exceed the outrage of adding a whole figure to the Oath passage, and making the warriors "cover land and sea with their bodies?" as if Demosthenes wanted such a trope—as if the passage itself were not figurative enough!

Wolff and Taylor must be admitted to have been among the most perfect masters of it. That both Leland and Francis, too, had very considerable power over the English language it would be absurd to deny; many passages have been rendered by both with success, some with great felicity. But one qualification for this task all those translators equally wanted; none of them had any practical experience of oratory; none of them had the habit of addressing popular assemblies, or even judicial bodies; none of them were orators either accidentally or by profession. If Pope had been ever so good a Greek scholar, and no poet, his Homer might have borne a nearer resemblance to the original, but it would have been the resemblance of prose to poetry. Had Dryden only written his admirable Prefaces and Introductions, works that might have placed him in the first rank of English classics even if all his immortal verse had perished, he never would have given us that masterpiece of poetical translation,—his fragment of Lucretius. It could only be a great poet, too, who might attempt to supply Pope's deficiencies, and add to English poetry the Homeric sense and style, as Cowper has done with a success unaccountably overlooked, and well calculated to alarm

any translator who relies upon his knowledge of Greek and his power over English, for the accomplishment of a literal version. Now those who have rendered Demosthenes came to the task as Pope, Dryden, and Cowper would have done had they never written any of the poems on which their fame is built. They were Greek scholars, and not English orators ; they knew the meaning of the one tongue, they did not know the resources of the other ; they could understand in what manner Demosthenes affected an Attic audience, but only by reading Demosthenes himself ; they had no knowledge of the manner in which an English audience was to be affected, nor indeed had they a practical knowledge how any audience was to be moved or controuled. Nay more, they not only were themselves no orators, but they had in all probability very little experience of oratory as auditors. Their lives had been passed in colleges or schools where, if rhetoric is taught at all, there is a very great chance of something exceedingly unlike real eloquence being learned—possibly something the reverse of eloquence—for the true schools of oratory are the Senate, the Forum, the popular assembly. Their lives had not been passed in hearing the Erskine's and Curran's of the age, or in listen-

ing to Pitt and Fox, and Grattan, and Windham, and Canning. It was almost as if instead of Pope, and Monti, and Dryden, and Cowper attempting to transfuse Homer into English or Italian song, there had stood forward some one well acquainted with the Greek, a master of the Ionic and the Doric dialects, but who never had either written a couplet nor read a line of poetry from the time of Chaucer and Dante to his own age. Such a one might be of excellent use in helping a poet as Pope and Monti were holpen by men who knew Greek and had not the gift of song; but their verse would never have found a patient reader. It would be an exaggeration to say that the translators of Demosthenes have fared as ill as these would have fared—yet it is quite certain that what was altogether inevitable has happened to them—their versions betray at every step their imperfect acquaintance with the art of oratory; and whoever has been accustomed to address an audience or even to pass his time in hearing great debates, would have at once rejected many of the turns of expression adopted by them, and have put the sense in another form quite as a matter of course.

It is a further consequence of the same deficiency, though not a necessary consequence,

that these translators have been ignorant of the resources of the language in which they undertook to write. This has led, in all the modern tongues, in none more than our own, to the most mischievous practice into which a translator can fall—that of paraphrase and circumlocution—and still more that of preferring a foreign or roundabout turn of expression to the pure and racy and vigorous English idiom—the strong and natural Saxon dialect never to be departed from without the most urgent necessity or the greatest temptation. Of this so many examples occur in the course of the present work, that it would only be a superfluous repetition of the remarks contained in the Notes, were any examples to be given here.

The present translation professes to be as close as it is possible to make it without abandoning the peculiar idiom of the language in which it is written. How far any success has attended an attempt the extreme difficulty of which is most freely confessed as it has been most painfully felt, it is no business of mine even to form a conjecture.

It remains to acknowledge the great kindness of my old and valued friend, Thomas Campbell, who readily complied with my re-

quest that he would translate into English verse (of which he is so renowned a master) the Epitaph quoted by Demosthenes towards the close of the Oration. That a poet only could hope to succeed in this attempt has already, in discussing another matter, been incidentally observed—that such a poet was certain to succeed needs hardly be added. But one who has the highest hereditary titles both to Eloquence and to Poetry has ventured to suggest an alteration in one or two even of Campbell's verses, and with a success which he himself is the first to acknowledge.

Since the Notes were printed I have had occasion to peruse a French Translation which, had I before seen it, would really have prevented some remarks upon the paraphrase of Dawson and others. Thus, “*των ὑμετέρων αὐτῶν χάριν προσοφείλετε.*” Vous baisez les mains avides qui vous lachent comme à regret quelque part de votre propre subsistence.” Again, “*οἱ δ' ἐν πύλῃ καθιέρξαντες ὑμᾶς ἐπαγούσι ἐπὶ ταῦτα, καὶ τίθασσενούσι χειροῦθεις αὐτοῖς ποιούντες.*” Comme des lions qu'on grille dans leur cage, ils vous enferment dans vos murs; ils vous tendent à manger pour vous caresser, vous apprivoiser, vous faire dociles à leur main.” Assuredly no English master of paraphrase ever

went so far as to lend a cage of lions to Demosthenes for rhetorical uses. Writers of this class must be supposed to consider the old Greek a far worse orator than themselves.

The Editions which have chiefly been used in executing this work are those of Reiske, Bekker, and Stock ; but recourse has occasionally been had to Hervagius, to Schäfer's collection, and to the very copious notes of Mr. Dobson's edition, which is of great value, as containing almost all the commentaries of the prior editions. The Greek is printed from Bekker, but with a copious selection of Various readings from Wolff, Taylor, Reiske, and other commentators. In preferring Bekker the advice of Dr. Arnold has been followed ; although I own my partiality for Reiske, whom I generally use. His text, beside being defective in the periods and paragraphs, has the great imperfection of loose emendation, and often enfeebles the original by adding, without authority, explanatory words ; but his notes, and especially his *Apparatus Critici*, are most convenient, from the mass of information which they bring together. Shall I also acknowledge the interest which one naturally takes in honest J. J. Reiske's zeal for the

Attic; his truly Germanic devotion to his great work; his abomination (*horresco referens*!) of all translations except his own German one; his gratitude to his fair helpmate for her assistance (and indeed for her not wholly ornamental portrait); his innocent rage against periodical critics;* his yet more simple punishment of them, at his own expense, by affirming that he knows many more errors in his work than they ever have found out;† his fury against the degeneracy of an age that prefers interests and pleasures to classical studies?‡ The superiority of Bekker's text is, however, admitted.

* Umbratici illi, e latebris, ut latrones saltibus insidentes, tela in prætereuntes conjicientes. Ejusmodi libelli menstrui sunt buccina diaboli, vel Erynneos, aut Bellonæ, ut veteres loquebantur, ejusque ululatum cum audieris et suspiceris quis inflarit, unde simultates et contentiones.

† Melius egomet ipse novi mære interpretationis nævos quam illi omnes qui eam carpserunt. Sed meliorem profecto quivis omnium condant, neque condet.

‡ Bene de eo seculo nunquam speravi quod usû novi ventri, ganæ, luxui, libidinibus, cupiditati, et avaritiæ deditum, in equos, in canes, in scorta, in aleam, in cantrices, in scenicos, in nugæ, in res quasque turpes, et corpori famæque, et rei denique familiari detrimentosas furiose suas opes prodigi, in res autem divinas humanasque præclaras publicèque salutare, patrice gloriosas, et ad omnem memoriam splendidas futuras vel obolum erogare reformidare tanquam si in puteum abjiciant."

Whoever goes through the different editions, as I have been obliged to do, in order to select the Various readings, will find constant reason to admire the unerring judgment with which he has steered his course, always fixing on the best reading, and rarely, if ever, indulging in conjectures of his own. Indeed, Dr. Arnold's authority would have decided on the preference due to his text, if any doubt had remained upon the merits. But the paragraphs are in the present edition differently cast from those of any other, and this change has been made upon much consideration. Some have thought that any division of paragraphs is inconsistent with the nature of a spoken discourse; and accordingly Reiske makes no new lines at all, not even on the transition from the documents to the speech, only marking the paragraphs in the other editions with a †, §, or †§, referring to the Augustan and another MS. But pauses are rather more natural in spoken than in written compositions; indeed they are necessary to the speaker far more than to the reader.

In the present edition, the Various readings have been carefully selected; but only material variations have been noted. Generally, all those have been omitted where the only differ-

ence relates to the accents or the circumflex, and which may rather be reckoned typographical than belonging to the text. Readings too have been altogether rejected which were plainly errors, in whatever accident they may have originated. Thus, in the celebrated Oath, ἡμαρτετε and ἡμαρτηκατε, are both given; but to consider ουδ' ὁλως (which has actually been cited from one MS.) as a various reading for ὅπως, would be ridiculous, as it plainly destroys at a blow the whole force of the passage. So in the same famous passage, εθαυμασεν for εθαψεν, appears in three MSS., and would be utterly inadmissible if it were in three hundred. The like may be said of δημοσια for ὁμοιος in the same sentence; and of such variations in other places, as φωνης ασκησεως for φωνασκιας; τραγικος for αυτοτραγικος; ατιμησει for ουδεις επιμισει, ποια βουλη for ποια βελη, &c. To have dignified such absurd conjectures, or manifest blunders, with the title of Various readings would have been preposterous. It is only to be feared that notwithstanding the care taken to avoid it, some readings may have found admission, against which better scholars would have shut the door upon the same obvious principle.

It is right to add that Bekker's text, except

as to the division of paragraphs, having been followed, it has not been deemed necessary to note every instance in which it differs from the others.

The beautiful edition of Demosthenes' Public Orations, by Bishop Stock, does great honour to Trinity College, Dublin. The type is admirable, and the size of the work very convenient. It is much to be wished that the "Irish Sister" would oftener break through those "silent" habits which have almost become a second nature.

ERRATA.

- Page 19 line 11, for "doing" read "*acting*."
- " ib. " ib. for "work" read "*part*."
- " ib. " ib. for "Eurybatus" read "*Eurybates*."^{*}
- " 44 " 1, for "willingly" read "*fain*."
- " 59 " 10, before "however" dele (,).
- " 62 " 13, after "Coronation" insert "CHERSONESITAN DECREE."
- " 154 " 1 for "THANKSGIVINGS" read "SACRIFICES."
- " 181 " 9, for "while" read "*whercas*."
- " 183 " 15, for "disregard" read "*disregarding*."
- " 187 " 21, for "danger" read "*working*."
- " 197 " 8, after "we" insert "*were*."
- " 199 " 20, for "formed" read "*informed*."
- " 209 " 1, omit "*do*."
- " ib. " 2, for? put "*a period*."
- " 216 " 3, for "them" read "*themselves*."
- " ib. " 7 from bottom for "untolerating" read "*untoltering*."

In pp. 22. 38, 39. 57, 58. 71. 78, instead "of the Pæanian tribe, Cothocidian tribe," &c., put "the Pæanian, the Cothocidian, &c."—Leland and others are clearly wrong in confounding the country districts and towns with tribes.

* A phrase used to signify the work or part of a traitor, from Eurybates of Ephesus, who betrayed his trust to Cyrus.

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ.

LET me begin, Men of Athens, by imploring of all the Heavenly Powers that the same kindly sentiments which I have throughout my public life cherished towards this country and each of you, may now by you be shown towards me in the present contest! Next I beseech them to grant, what so nearly concerns yourselves, your religion, and your reputation,* that you may not take council of my adversary touching the course to be pursued in hearing my defence—that would indeed be hard!—but that you may regard the laws and your oaths, which, among so many other just rules, lay down this,—that both sides shall equally be heard! Nor does this merely import that no one shall be prejudged, or that equal favour shall be extended to both parties; it also implies that each antagonist shall have free scope in pursuing whatever method and line of defence he may be pleased to prefer.†

* δόξης is not glory here, but honour—character—reputation.

† ὥς βεβουληται και προηρηται. —These words import the utmost freedom of choice, for whatever reason or from whatever kind of inclination.

Upon the present occasion, Athenians, as in many things, so especially in two of great moment, Æschines has the advantage of me. One is, that we have not the same interests at stake; it is by no means the same thing for me to forfeit your esteem, and for him to fail in his Impeachment. That to me indeed—But I would fain not take so gloomy* a view in the outset.—Yet he certainly brings his charge, an unprovoked volunteer.† My other disadvantage is, that all men are naturally prone to take pleasure in listening to invective and accusation, and to be disgusted‡ with those who praise themselves. To him, therefore, falls the part which

* *δυσχερής*. — Francis and Dawson (a more accurate scholar) render this as “inauspicious,” and even Wolff and Leland have it “ominous.” But this seems an unauthorised version. The word means calamitous—vexatious—literally, unhandy or difficult, and may here be gloomy.

† *ἐκ περιουσίας* has occupied the commentators, and one (Ulpian) refers it to bribes received from Philip, (taking *περιουσία* as abundance,) out of which the fine, *pro falso clamore*, might be paid. It seems to mean plainly enough *ex abundantia*—gratuitous—uncalled for—the act of a volunteer in bringing his charge—that which, because he attempts without any necessity, he may fail in without any skait. Leland is certainly wrong here in his periphrastic version: he connects *ἐκ*, &c. with the *ἀποσιωπήσας*, and gives it, “Sensible as I must be of this my adversary’s advantage.”

‡ *αχθόμεναι* may be rendered either by impatience, with Leland, or by annoyance, or disgust.

ministers to your gratification, while to me there is only left that which, I may almost say, is distasteful to all. And* yet, if from such apprehensions I were to avoid the subject of my own conduct, I should appear to be without defence against his charges, and without proof that my honours were well earned; although I cannot go over the ground of my councils and my measures without necessarily speaking oftentimes of myself. This, therefore, I shall endeavour to do with all moderation; while the blame of my dwelling on topics indispensable to my defence must justly rest upon him who has instituted an Impeachment of such a kind.

But at least I think I may reckon upon all of you, my judges, admitting that this question concerns me as much as Ctesiphon, and justifies on my part an equal anxiety;† for to be stripped of any possession, and more especially by an

* Leland unaccountably omits the *καὶ μὲν*, and thus not only loses all connexion between the two sentences, but spoils the fine argument conveyed by them. He is also wrong in inserting the words of contradistinction “on the other hand,” for the clause that follows is not contradistinguished, but agrees.

† *σπουδή* is much more than “attention,” (Leland) which would be exceedingly feeble to paint the feelings of Ctesiphon and Demosthenes. It is a word of much intension—it is ardour—zeal—anxiety, from *σπεύδω*, to press forward, to make haste.

enemy, is grievous and hard to bear; but worst of all thus to lose your confidence and esteem, of all possessions the most precious.

Such, then, being my stake in this cause, I conjure and implore* of you all alike, to give ear to my defence against these Charges, with that impartiality which the laws enjoin—those laws first given by Solon, one as friendly towards you as he was to all popular rights—laws which he fixed, not only by engraving them on brazen tables, but by the sanction of the oaths you take when sitting in judgment; not, I verily believe, from any distrust of you, but because he perceived that the accuser being armed with the advantage of speaking first, the accused can have no chance of resisting his charges and invectives, unless every one of you, his judges, keeping the oath sworn before God, shall receive with favour the

* As if the Greek *αξιῶ καὶ δεομαι παντων ὁμοίως ὑμων*, were not strong enough, Francis is pleased thus to spin the words out into paraphrase,—“I with equal earnestness demand from your integrity and implore from your compassion.” The “equal” is not in the original applied to *αξιῶ* and *δεομαι*, but to the audience, *παντων*. If *αξιῶ* be a demand of justice as contradistinguished from begging a favour, “require” would serve that meaning; but the distinction is groundless; the words answer nearly to the Latin, *oro et obsecro*, or *oro atque obtestor*; and Francis seems merely to have been led away by love of paraphrase, and not to have any such nicety in view, though certainly Wolff had taken the antithesis before him.

defence which comes last, and lending an equal and a like ear to both parties, shall thus make up your mind upon the whole of the case.*

But on this day, when I am about to render up an account, as it should seem, of my whole life, both public and private, I would again, as in the outset, implore the Gods, and in your presence pour out to them my supplications, first to grant me at your hands the same kindness in this conflict which I have ever borne towards our country and all of you; and next, that they may incline you all to pronounce upon this Impeachment the decision which shall best consult the glory of the state and the religious obligations of each individual judge!†

* Translators have suffered to escape them the refinement of this commentary and gloss on Solon's law, and its application to Δ's case. They make him only ask for justice. So he does, and no more, upon the whole; but he asks for it in a peculiar manner; he begins by asking more at first in order that justice may be done on the whole; he desires that, in order to balance the advantage of the First Word, he should be heard with some portion of extra favour, and that by this means, both parties being placed on an equal footing, justice should then on the whole be done between them by a fair examination of the entire merits of the question.

† The impressive earnestness which this prayer derives from its repetition so soon after it had been first offered up needs hardly be pointed out. In particular passages of deep pathos the same effect is sometimes produced with success,

If Æschines had confined his charges to the matter in question, I too would at once have proceeded to discuss, in my own defence, the proposed Decree.* But since he has chosen to employ no small portion of his speech in bringing forward other matters, and chiefly in order falsely to slander me, I hold it at once necessary and just, that I should begin by shortly adverting to those points, lest any of you, Athenians, led away by such extraneous topics, should lend an unfavourable ear to my defence in the cause itself.†

To all his invectives, then, and the calumnies cast upon my private life, hear my honest and plain reply. If you know me to be such as

by repeating the same words without any variation, unless in the tone of the delivery.

* This passage shows the difficulty which often arises of giving the entire meaning of the original in few words. *ευθὺς αὖ ἀπελογουμένον περὶ*, &c., denotes the proceeding straight-way to discuss the Decree, but to discuss it defensively.

† The great skill of this movement, by which he at once takes up his position on his own ground, and there fights the battle, instead of fighting it on the very disadvantageous ground chosen by his enemy (viz. the legal point of an honour having been conferred on a public accountant before audit), is worthy of especial observation. Napoleon's movement at Wagram resembled this, and was attended with equal success. The Austrians had been preparing for weeks to fight on one ground; he made a sudden and unexpected march which let him fight on another.

he has described—and I have never lived any where but among you—then let me not be suffered to utter a word, be the merits of my administration ever so perfect, but rise up this instant and condemn me!* If, on the contrary, you know and believe that I am far better than him, and sprung from better men; that I and mine are in no way inferior to any others of moderate pretensions, (I would speak without offence,)—then give him no credit for his other statements, which are all manifestly fictions of the same mould,† but continue to me henceforth the same confidence which you have

* This magnificent appeal can be rendered with great closeness if the force of our Saxon tongue be attended to and the Greek expressions not lost sight of or diluted. Of this Francis seems to have been little sensible, when, while reading *ιστε*, you are conscious, he translates *ὑπερευπεπολιτευμαι* (*τα κοινα*) “my administration may have been unblameable, and even meritorious.” It is a word of great intensiveness, meaning the utmost possible success or merit in administration. Dawson is better, if prolix, “though I had been the best public minister that ever was amongst you.” Leland, “though my publick administration may have had the most transcendant merit.”

† *Ὁμοίως ἐπλαττετο*. This is literal and not paraphrastical; the real and original sense of *πλαττω* or *πλασσω* being, to form as a potter does his clay. We have borrowed from the Greek root our fine word, plastic; and it has not lost its original meaning. Stock, when he puts *similiter* in italics, appears to have rejected *ομοίως* from the text, to which it is plainly quite essential.

so often heretofore steadily shown. But you, Æschines, with all your crafty malice, have been simple enough * to believe, in good sooth, that I should turn away from the subject of my conduct and my policy, in order to deal with your calumnies. I shall do no such thing; I shall show no such infatuation; I shall proceed instantly to the most sifting discussion† of those measures which you have been distorting‡ and running down; and afterwards I shall advert to the ribaldry § you have so shamelessly || poured forth, if indeed there be any wish to hear that exposed.

The crimes laid to my charge are many and grave; they are such as the laws visit with

* *Τουτο παντελως εὖηθες ὤηθης*—"This you have altogether simply, and in good sooth, believed." The meaning is clearly "you have in good sooth been simple enough to believe," or "have rocked yourself into a belief." The sense cannot be given without some circumlocution; *κακοηθης*, being put in contrast to this simplicity, must mean more than malice: it is malice in the legal sense—cunning spite.

† *Εξετασσω* must mean more than *ετασσω*, which is to sift.

‡ *κατεψευδον*, lie about, *διαβαλλες*, accuse.

§ *Πομπειας*, "ribaldry," is literal; the phrase being the kind of scurrility poured out on the stage, in the Thespian carts, *εν ταις πομπαις*.

|| *αναιδην* or *ανειδην*? is the question with some commentators. Wolff holds clearly against *αναιδην*, v.g. *αναιδως*, but Ulpian is as clear for it; and Reiske and Taylor both prefer it.

heavy, nay with the severest punishments. But the institution of this Impeachment is marked with the spite and scurrility of a personal enemy, with defamation, foul slander of my character, and everything of the kind.* Then such offences as I am accused of† and

* *εχθρου* here must have “personal” enemy to mark it; mere enemy is not enough to render the sense. *προπηλακισμος* is more than slander—it is literally throwing dirt against one. Reiske changes *ομου* into *εμου*, correcting the text happily. The *παντα τα τοιαυτα*, here as so often used by Δ, and gathering its value from vehement enunciation, must be allowed to add nothing to the force, but rather to weaken the effect, of the preceding passage. Its sonorous quality possibly saved it in the Greek’s delivery.

† *των μεντοι κατηγοριων*, &c. This period, being apparently little more than a repetition of what had been said the sentence but one before, has been the subject of much commentary; and most scholars seem disposed to consider the text as corrupt, the rather apparently from the sentence immediately after *ου γαρ αφαιρεισθαι*, seeming not itself to be very clear or significant. Taylor is very elaborate upon this altogether, and makes a bold emendation, extolled by Francis as the happiest in his whole work, but wholly misdescribed by him, as merely “a judicious arrangement of the members of the sentence;” whereas, beside transposing the members so as to make the invocation, *ουτε μιν τους θεους*, immediately follow the description of Æschines’ personality, and apply to it, Taylor leaves out altogether the passage beginning *των μεντοι*, as if it had been a mere interpolation. His defence of the transposition, by referring to a like curious collocation, in C. Nepos’ Life of Hannibal, and which he corrects, leaves this omission wholly undefended.

attacked for, the state really has not the means of punishing with adequate severity, or anything like it, if the charges were true. No one

Lambrinus transposes without omitting, and both these commentators transpose again at the mention of Ctesiphon, immediately after the allusion to the *γραφη παρανομων*, carrying that sentence to the end of the whole passage, after *τουτογι*. There is no end of such licences as these; and they are wholly unwarranted by any of the Codices. It is to be observed that Reiske makes not even a remark on the passage; and Hervagius has it in the same form. But is the sense imperfect in itself? Is there a useless repetition? Is there a want of connexion? First it may be remarked that there are two senses of the sentence, *ου γαρ αφαιρεισθαι*; one is the sense given in the text, and which seems to agree with the whole of the charge, both in the previous portion of the exordium and in this place, viz., that, by delaying his accusation so long after the facts, as well as by attempting to hamper him in his defence, as already complained of, Æschines had deprived him of a hearing—and then that he had done so through malicious motives and personal spite. This fits perfectly well with the exclamation that immediately follows; for to be sure it is the greatest wickedness which could be imputed to an accuser. To this sense Lambrinus inclines apparently in his version. The other version is, that he is only admitting Æschines' right to impeach him provided he but does it with fairness, but contending that this right must not be abused to purposes of spite, making the *τουτο ποιειν* apply to the *προσιλθειν και λογου τυχειν*, and not to the *αφαιρεισθαι*. It must be admitted that the connecting words, *ουδ' εν*, suit the former less than the latter sense; but either is quite consistent with the general context, and with the exclamation being supposed to follow the sentence

ought on any account to be debarred of access to the people, or restrained in freedom of

immediately, and not to belong to the former one, as Taylor would have it. But the error of Taylor and those who follow him is in supposing that the substantive to which the verb and the preposition in the disputed sentence, *των μεντοι*, apply, is the same with the substantive in the sentence but one before, and therefore that there is a repetition. Now there is no repetition, for two reasons:—

1. The proposition is different; the first sentence, *τα μεν ουν*, affirms that the many heavy charges brought against him are severely punishable by the laws; the proposition in the subsequent sentence, *των μεντοι*, affirms that the laws do not adequately punish the offences to which it refers. These are manifestly different propositions, and one is astonished at Taylor's triumphant exclamation, after putting the two side by side in parallel columns—"Conferas, trutinæ, metiaris, excutias, excrucies, quidvis fac periculi"—you will find nothing in the second that was not in the first.
2. The substantives referred to, the things respecting which the laws are said to take the severest cognizance in the first, and not to punish adequately in the second, are different. In the former it is the *κατηγορημενα*, the matter formally charged; but immediately after the first sentence comes the complaint that Æschines, actuated by personal enmity, had poured out personalities of all sorts against him. If these are true, there was no punishment half bad enough for me, says Δ. These what? Observe, the very word is different: it is *κατηγοριων*; it was before *κατηγορημενα*; the latter only means charge, the former also means matters or things. But, independent of this, it comes against the things enumerated, as added to the formal charge—viz, *υβρις*, *λοιδορια*, *προπηλακισμος*, and plainly refers to them—and thus the two are easily reconciled.

speech; but so ought no one to use that privilege for the purposes of oppression and spite. By Heavens! Men of Athens, that is neither honest, nor statesmanlike, nor just. But if he saw me acting injuriously towards the state, especially if I were doing the things he has been declaiming and ranting* about, it was his duty to enforce the penal laws against me while those facts were recent; if he saw me committing an impeachable offence he ought to have impeached me, and thus dragged me before you to justice; if he saw me illegally propounding, he should have proceeded against me for Illegal Proposition.† For never can he with any justice assail Ctesiphon through me; and yet it is plain that, had he any hope of convicting me, he never would have accused Ctesiphon. But if he saw me doing any of those other things which he is now attacking and running down, or saw me in any way whatever injuring your interests, there are statutes for all such cases, and penalties,‡ and sentences

* *ετραγωδεῖν*, declaiming theatrically. Perhaps ranting sufficiently suggests the idea of the stage, which *Δ* always is apt to bring up against the *Τριταγονιστῆς*.

† The *γραφὴ παρανομῶν* was the prosecution for the offence of moving a law or decree of an unconstitutional kind.

‡ *ἄγων* and *κρίσις* are plainly here used—the one for civil, the other for criminal proceedings; *ἄγων* is also sometimes

condemning to heavy and bitter punishments. All these he might have enforced against me; and, had he done so, and pursued this course towards me, then, indeed, his charges would have been consistent with his conduct. But now, departing from the straight-forward and the just path, and shunning all accusation at the time,

used for the latter; *κρισις* never for the former. *και τιμωριαι* here puzzles Reiske, as it seems to have done Hervagius, who omits it altogether. Reiske suggests that it should be in the accusative, and then the sentence would run *κρισις εχουσai*, both *τιμωριας* and *επιτιμια*. Would not this, however, be an anti-climax from *τιμωριας*, if you read that "punishments" to *μεγαλα επιτιμια*, great fines, as Reiske does, and indeed as all must substantially do who take *τιμωρια* to be "punishment," and *κρισις*, "judgment." This is a difficulty far more hard to get over than the last; for who shall accuse Δ of saying—"For all such cases there are laws, and actions, and judgments, inflicting punishments and bitter and great fines?" If this must be the meaning of *κρισις* and *τιμωρια*, the text may safely be pronounced corrupt, and the *τιμωριαι* should come after the *επιτιμια*. There is perhaps no authority for *τιμωρια* meaning a condemnation or sentence: if there be, *κρισις* may be and is often used for the charge or accusation. Independent of the anti-climax, *τιμωριαι εχουσai επ τιμια* is hardly sensible, if *τιμωρια* means punishment; for it would be punishment inflicting fines, or punishments of which heavy fines are parcel, as if that were the worst of all sufferings. Both Francis and Dawson are wholly careless of the original in their versions of this remarkable passage.

he trumps up, after so long an interval, his collected complaints, and invectives, and scurrilities. Then, he accuses me, but he prosecutes him ; he envelops his whole proceedings with the fiercest hatred of me, and, without ever meeting me fairly, endeavours to rob another of his good name. Wherefore, Athenians, over and above all the other just defences which may be set up for Ctesiphon, this one appears to me most manifestly in point, that Æschines and I ought to carry on our mutual hostilities between ourselves, and not lay aside our own controversy in order to try how much harm we can do another party ; for that is indeed the very extravagance* of injustice.

It is easy then to see that all the charges against me are as little founded in justice and in truth as those. Nevertheless I am desirous of examining them each and all, especially his falsehoods touching the Peace and the Embassy, respecting which he has transferred to me his own delinquencies and those of his associate Philocrates. The transactions of those times, Athenians, it is necessary, and will be convenient, that you should recall to your recollection, in order to perceive how each of the matters in question really stands.

* "The very hyperbole of injustice" would be literal, and perhaps not inadmissible.

After the Phocian war broke out, not through me, for I had not then entered into public life, you were at first inclined to save the Phocians, although well aware of their misconduct, and to rejoice at the loss of the Thebans, with whom you were offended, and not unreasonably or unjustly, for they had not borne their good fortune at Leuctra with moderation. Then the whole Peloponnesus was rent in divisions, and neither the enemies of the Spartans were powerful enough to overthrow them, nor were those who, through Spartan influence, had been formerly placed at the head of the peninsular cities, any longer in possession of them, but there prevailed, both among them and among the other Greek states, an unexplained* strife and perturbation. Philip, perceiving this, for it was not

* *εἰς (ἀσπίτος) καὶ ταραχῇ*, a finely-chosen expression to paint a confused, indistinct, surd discontent. Perhaps *ταραχῇ* implies consternation also—people ill-disposed and angry, and not knowing why or how, like men quarrelling in the dark. Some render *ἀσπίτος* by irreconcilable, interminable; but the real and natural meaning of the word is as here given. The description of Philip taking advantage of this is also fine: *συνεκρούει καὶ ἐταράττει*—collided them, or mixed, or jumbled, or confounded them together; knocked their heads together; made them first come into collision, i. e. interfere with each other, and then quarrel. Our phrase is necessarily less expressive, because neuter instead of active verbs must be used.

difficult to see, lavished his bribes among the traitors everywhere, and put all the states in collision and conflict with one another; then, as they all fell into a mistaken or a profligate policy, he took advantage of it, and grew in strength at their expense. But when it became evident that the Thebans, worn out with the length of the war, after all their insolence, must be under the necessity, in their present reverses, of flying to you for refuge, Philip, to prevent this, and obstruct the union of those states, proffered peace to you, succour to them. What, then, enabled him thus to overreach you, who were, I might almost say, wilfully deceiving yourselves? It must be admitted that the other Greek states, either from cowardice, or from infatuation,* or both, would give no assistance, either in money or in men, or in any other way, to you who were carrying on a long and uninterrupted war for the common benefit of all, as the facts plainly showed; and you, not unfairly or unnaturally angry at this, lent a willing ear to Philip's offers. The peace, then, which you granted to him was the consequence of these circumstances, and not of my efforts, as Æschines has falsely alleged. But in the measures and

* *ayroia* is literally ignorance; but here it must be ignorance of their true interests; for the thing which sprang from it was refusing men and money.

corruptions of his party upon that occasion any one who fairly examines the matter will find the true cause of our present condition; and I am now weighing and sifting* this matter, with the desire only of coming at the truth. For whatever misconduct there may have been in the then transactions, it cannot in any way affect me. It was Aristodemus, the player, who first spoke of or broached the subject of peace; and the person who took up the question and propounded a decree upon it, and exerted himself with Aristodemus to further it, was Philocrates the Agnusian, your accomplice, and not mine, Æschines, though you should deny it till you burst!† Their supporters, from whatever motive (I pass over that for the present), were Eubulus and Cephisophus; but never I in any manner of way.

* *διερχομαι* is to go over or through, to pervade, to survey; *διεξερχομαι* must indicate the same process more stringent—the closest survey—a sifting.

† The Greek is here more expressive than refined: *αν συ διαρραγης ψευδομενος*, if e'en you lie till you burst. Such expressions remind us of the ancient character given of this great master—*λογχους τε και καταπελτας εσθιων*. (*Athen.*) We have vulgar phrases in Westminster Hall of a like kind: "To swear through a brick wall"—"To swear till he is black in the face." Dawson is so offended with the coarse expression that he thus changes it, contrary to all rule: "Notwithstanding your most vehement and false assertions to the contrary."

Yet, this being the state of the case, and the truth of it being thus plainly demonstrated, to such a pitch of effrontery has he reached, that he has the audacity not only to lay the peace upon me, but to accuse me of preventing this country from making common cause in the negotiation with the other Greek powers! But *you*,—by what name shall I address you to describe you aright?—when did *you* ever come forward at the moment to testify your indignation upon seeing me before your eyes wresting from the country so grand an opportunity for an alliance as that which you are now tragically declaiming about? Or when did *you* ever stand forth to denounce or to scrutinize all that you are now impeaching me for? Why, if I had, for the lucre of Philip's gold, deprived the country of the Greek alliance, it was your duty not to hold your peace, but to cry out upon me, and testify against me, and denounce me before this assembly. In no manner of way did you this, nor did mortal ear ever hear your voice to such a purpose.* And well might you be silent;†

* This is quite literal, and it is fine and picturesque; but some translators wholly lose it. The Frenchman thus dilutes it away to nothing: "*Vous n'avez pas dit un mot.*"

† *εἰκότερος*,—literally, likely—or truly; it is used to apply Æschines' silence the more closely to Δ's defence. Dawson and other translators omit it altogether.

for neither was there any embassy at that time sent to any of the Greek powers, though the dispositions of them all were very easy to see, nor have you even now advanced any sound statement upon the matter.

But, beside all this, he calumniates the country itself with his falsehoods still more than he does me.* For if you, Athenians, at one and the same moment were exciting the Greeks to war and sending ambassadors to make peace with Philip, you were doing the work of Eurybatus, and not acting either for the good of the state, or like politick men.† But that was not the fact; no, nor anything like it. What should you at that crisis call upon the Greek powers to do? To obtain peace? But they all had it already. To make war? But you were yourselves deliberating about peace. It is therefore demonstrated to be utterly untrue either that I was the original author of the peace, or in any way answerable for it, or for any of the other things with which he has so falsely charged me. You must, then, consider what course each of us held after the

* τα μεγιστα clearly institutes this comparison with what had been before (the χωρις τουτων) said of Δ personally, and it must be thus rendered without any periphrasis.

† The literal meaning is here given of διεπραττεσθε πολεως εργον ουδε χρηστων ανθρωπων. But a modern ear would prefer the turn of "You were neither seeking the good of the state nor the approval of politick men."

country had made peace ; because it is thus that you will be able to perceive who co-operated in all things with Philip, and who stood by you and sought only the good of the commonwealth.

I immediately obtained a Decree of the Senate, that without a moment's delay ambassadors should sail for those places where Philip was reported to be in order to receive his Ratification.* But Æschines' party were not for doing this, even after my Decree had passed. What was its object ? I will show you. It was Philip's interest that the interval between our Ratification and his should be as long as possible ; yours, that it should be as short. Why so ? Because you had laid aside all warlike preparations, not from the date of the Ratification, but from the time that you first had hopes of peace ; while he, on the contrary, was laying his plans more than ever upon the supposition,—a well-grounded one—that whatever possessions of yours he should seize before swearing to the Ratification must all remain securely his own, as no one would be for breaking the peace on that account.

Foreseeing this, Men of Athens, and reflecting upon it, I proposed the Decree that the ambassadors should make sail to wherever

* Literally, oath ; but the meaning is the swearing to observe the treaty, answering to ratification of what the negotiators had agreed upon.

Philip might be, and take his oath of ratification with all expedition, in order that, while your allies the Thracians still held possession of the places which Æschines now affects to undervalue, Serrium, Myrtium, and Ergisca, he should execute his Ratification, and so be prevented from making himself master of Thrace by the acquisition of these important possessions, and from preparing for the execution of his other designs by raising there a great revenue and a great force. For this reason Æschines does not read my Decree, nor so much as mention it. Yet because I, in discharge of my senatorial duty, thought that ambassadors ought to have an audience, he inveighs against me. But what was I to do? Was I to refuse access to men who were come expressly for the purpose of addressing you, or to forbid the architect giving them a place as spectators? But had I not assigned them a place, they might have had it for twopence. I ought, it seems, to have made this small gain for the state, and all the while sold to Philip, as these men have done, our highest interests! No, no. Here, take and read the Decree which he, knowing its contents full well, has taken care to pass over.

DECREE.

In the archonship of Mnesiphilus, on the 13th of Hecatombæon, in the presidency of the tribe Pandion, on the proposition of Demosthenes, the son of Demosthenes of the Pæanian tribe : Whereas Philip having sent ambassadors to treat of peace, hath duly concluded a treaty with the people of Athens ; now to the end that the same may be ratified as decreed in the former assembly, it hath pleased the Senate and People of the said state, that five ambassadors be chosen out of the whole people, and that these, being duly approved, be despatched without any delay whatever, to wheresoever it may be ascertained that Philip is, and that they do as speedily as may be exchange Oaths of Ratification with him touching the treaty between him and the said people concluded, the allies of both parties being duly comprehended therein. As such ambassadors are chosen—Eubulus, of the Anaphlystian tribe ; Æschines, son of Adrimetes, of the Cothocidian tribe ; Cephison, of the Rhamnusian ; Democrates, of the Phlysian ; Cleon, of the Cothocidian.*

When I had carried this Decree, consulting

* The formal and dry style of this document is to be noted ; so different from the ordinary Attic of the orations—a kind of statutory, or at least state-paper style. The distinction has not been maintained by translators.

the interests of the country and not of Philip, these worthy ambassadors, little solicitous about their mission,* set themselves down for three whole months in Macedon, until Philip returned from Thrace, after entirely subjugating the country, although they might easily in ten days—ay, in three or four, have gone to the Hellespont and saved Thrace by receiving his Ratification before he could take possession of it. For either he would not have touched that territory had we been there, or he would not have sworn to the peace, and thus would not have obtained it,† so that he could not have had both, the peace and the possessions.

Such in this mission was the first fraud of Philip, but also the first corrupt act of these men, profligate and hateful to the Gods—a corruption for which ever since then, and now, and

* *χρηστοι* is plainly ironical here; the word is “useful,” “profitable,” but “worthy” conveys its sense exceedingly well, and is often used ironically. *βραχυ φροντισαντες* has clearly the sense given in the text, though expressed somewhat elliptically.

† This must plainly be the sense, especially if the negative *ουκ* is to remain in its place, and the semicolon is to be placed after *αυτον*. But why the second *αν*? This seems superfluous, and perhaps there should be another *η* in the former limb of the sentence. The sense is however clear, and the whole structure of the passage and rapidity of the argument is truly Demosthenean.

for ever, I declare against them hostility and attack that knows no repose!* But you shall presently see another wickedness still greater than that. When Philip had sworn to the peace, having possessed himself of Thrace in consequence of those ambassadors disobeying my Decree, he bribed them not to leave Macedon until he had fully prepared his expedition against the Phocians, in order that you should not be apprised by them of his intention immediately to march, and so be enabled to sally forth and cut him off from all communication with Thermopylæ by surrounding it with your fleet† as you had done before; but that the intelligence through the ambassadors, and the accounts of his having entered Thermopylæ, might reach you together, and you should thus be unable to act at all. But although Philip had thus occupied the ground beforehand,‡ he was

* πολεμειν και διαφεισθαι. Leland has it "denounce perpetual war and opposition;" and he transposes the *θεοις εχθρων* unwarrantably. The "opposition" is an anti-climax, and is not a correct translation. *διαφεισμαι* indicates a constant agitation—a restless enmity—hinc inde jactor, is the accurate and common translation. Dawson's "implacable enemy" is much better; but then he makes *πολεμειν* "opposition;" it is much stronger.

† Literally, sailing round Thermopylæ with your galleys should close the sea; but the sense is closely given in the text.

‡ και ταυτα προειληφατος αυτου. Literally, even having

in such alarm and anxiety,* lest upon hearing of his proceedings you should resolve to succour the Phocians before he had overthrown them, and so his scheme should fail, that he again bribed this wretch,† not in common with the other ambassadors, but by himself individually, to make you such a statement as proved the ruin of our affairs.

But I call upon you, I conjure you, Men of Athens, throughout this cause to bear this ever in mind, that if Æschines had not gone into matter out of the four corners of the Charge, neither should I have said one word away from the subject. But when he has heaped together all manner of imputations and maledictions,‡ it

anticipated these things. The Greek is to anticipate or take beforehand. The Greeks never fell into such slip-slop as using *anticipate* for *expect*—almost as bad as *transpire* for *occur*.

* φοβῶ καὶ πολλῇ αγωνίᾳ. The latter word is properly “anxiety”—not so strong as “consternation,” which would be θορυβός, and which perhaps rather belongs to multitudes than individuals; and this probably is the strict and original meaning of our word itself. Leland makes φοβῶ “apprehension,” and αγωνία, “violence of terror;” Dawson, “fearful and full of trouble.”

† καταπτυστον, spit out—spit upon—but come to mean anything despicable

‡ βλασφημίας. Leland has recourse to the circumlocution “every invective which malice could suggest.” Dawson’s “reproaches of all kinds” ill renders the sense.

becomes necessary that I should shortly answer each of his accusations.

What then were those representations of his which brought on such ruinous consequences? That Philip's entering Thermopylæ ought to create no alarm; that if you would but remain quiet, all should be settled to your heart's content, and you should in two or three days find him turn out to be the enemy of those he had come to defend, the friend of those he had come to attack. "For it was not words that strengthen alliances, he somewhat gravely* affirmed, but community of interests. But it was equally the interest of Philip, and the Phocians, and yourselves, to be relieved from the inaction and the importunity of the Thebans." Some there were who lent a willing ear to all this, from that dislike of the Thebans which had insensibly gained upon us.† What was the immediate consequence? In-

* *μαλα σεμνως ονομαζων*. Never was translation less near the original than Dawson's here, "smoothly glossing it." The literal meaning is clear, "rather gravely or pompously phrasing it."

† *δια την τοις ὑπουσαν απιχθειαν προς τους Θηβαιους*. It may be rendered "the lurking dislike;" but the text seems to give the meaning. Translators have almost all lost the meaning of *ὑπουσαν*. Dawson, "because we were at enmity with the Thebans." Stock gives it better, "*clam insedit*." Wolff's "*intercedentes*" is quite wrong. Leland unaccountably leaves out the whole sentence.

stantly, and not after any interval, the wretched Phocians were ruined, their cities razed to the ground, and you remaining inactive, and persuaded by Æschines' representations, were soon after removing your effects from the country for shelter,* while he was receiving his hire; and moreover the Thebans and Thessalians turned their hostility against this country, giving their good will to Philip in return for his exploits. In proof of these things, read me the Decree of Callisthenes and the Letter of Philip, from both of which all I have said clearly appears.

DECREE.

In the archonship of Mnesiphilus an extraordinary assembly being convened by the Strategi, with consent of the Prytanes and Senate, on the 2nd of Mæmacterion, on the report of Callisthenes, the son of Eteonicus of Phalaris: Resolved, that no Athenian shall on any pretence whatever pass the night in the country, but only in the citadel or the port, save and except such as are stationed at any posts, each of whom

* σκευαγωγείν, to pack up baggage; but *ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν* shows the meaning more precisely. Leland uses, however, far too much circumlocution. He expresses these few words by this unpardonable periphrasis—"to leave your fields desolate and collect your property within these walls."

shall keep the station assigned to him, and not absent himself by day or by night. Whosoever disobeys this decree shall suffer the punishment of traitors, unless he proves that he lay under some incapacity to obey, of which incapacity the General on duty, the Treasurer, and the Secretary of the Senate are to judge. All effects shall be removed from the country as speedily as possible; those which are within 120 stadia, to the citadel and port; those beyond that distance, to Eleusis, Phyle, Aphidna, Rhamnes, and Sunium. Proposed by Callisthenes of Phalerea.

Was it in the expectation of this that you made peace? Or were these the prospects held out by this hireling? But read the Letter which Philip immediately after sent.

LETTER OF PHILIP.

Philip, King of the Macedonians, to the Senate and People of Athens, greeting. Know ye that we have entered Thermopylæ, and reduced Phocis into our possession. In those towns which voluntarily surrendered we have placed garrisons; those which held out we have taken by force and razed to the ground, leading the inhabitants captive. But

hearing that you were preparing to succour them, I have written you these presents, to the end that you may give yourselves no further trouble in this matter. For, in fine, it does not appear to me reasonable that, after concluding a peace, you should notwithstanding take the field, and this although the Phocians were not comprehended in the treaty between us. If, therefore, you do not abide by your engagements, you will only get before me by being the first wrong-doers.*

Hear how distinctly he declares and explains himself in this letter addressed to yourselves, addressed to his allies.† “These things I have done,” says he, “in despite of the Athenians and their remonstrances; and if you Thebans and

* The style of this letter is perfect, and gives the highest idea of Philip’s capacity for composition. Pride—haughty, insolent, pride, yet such as to quell, not to irritate, is its characteristic. The style too is dignified and sustained throughout. The transition from the royal *we*, to the more individual *I*, is admirably made. The turn at the end is inimitable. The conciseness is such from beginning to end, that no fewer words could have been employed to convey the same ideas; and the choice of those few is as happy as their compression is remarkable.

† *προς* repeated to *ὑμας* and to *συμμάχους* also is eminently argumentative, and is ill rendered by the literal and unemphatic “to.” The text inserting “addressed,” seems much better to give the sense.

Thessalians be wise, you will reckon them your enemies and put your trust in me." If these are not his very words, this is clearly his meaning. With such speeches he so captivated them, that they neither made any preparations nor foresaw any danger, but suffered him to take possession of every place; and hence have proceeded all the calamities under which the wretched Thebans are now suffering. And his coadjutor, his fellow-labourer in gaining this confidence, the man who is still making you false reports, still deluding you—this is the man who now bewails* the sufferings of the

* This fine passage is worthy of all attention. The hypocritical lamentations of Æschines over his own handy-work is the subject, and there is not a word picturesquely describing woe, real woe, that Demosthenes does not use in referring to his adversary's affected sympathy for those who were suffering under the effects of his own actions—*οδυρομενος*, weeping or wailing. Stock has "*luget*;" Wolff, "*lamentetur*;" Francis, "*lament*;" Dawson, the same; Leland has "*affects deep concern*." All these are clearly below the mark (Leland, besides, having "*affects*" contrary to the plain text); they do not come up to *οδυρομενος*. Then we have *οικτρα* from *οικτος*, which almost means "*howling*;" a single word can hardly render it without appearing exaggerated, for "*agonies*" applies too much to pain. Wolff has "*miserabilia*;" Francis, "*distresses*;" but then he adds "*sadly*" gratuitously to *ἐκζητων*, though that word means only enumeration or exposition, and applies to joys as well as sorrows. *αλγεις*, "*sorrow for, as if it were your own*;"

Thebans, and dwells on their wretchedness, he being himself the cause of it all, and of the fate of the Phocians, and of all the other sufferings of all the Greeks! You, forsooth, you Æschines, must needs sorrow for those disasters, and compassionate the Thebans, when you are yourself in possession of their lands in Bœotia and actually farming them! and I must be supposed to rejoice at their suffering, I, whose head the author of all these wrongs demanded!* But I have fallen into topics which will be more in place hereafter. I now return to the proof that the corruption and profligacy of these men was the cause of our present condition.

When you were circumvented by Philip through those hirelings of his whom you had sent as ambassadors, and who never made you any true report, and when the miserable Phocians were also circumvented, and had their cities razed to the ground, what followed? The despicable Thessalians and the senseless Thebans looked upon Philip as their friend, benefactor,

Wolff, "*ægre fers*;" Francis, "are miserably affected;" Dawson, "are sorry for." *ελεεις*, commiserate—ask for pity--also a strong word, and rendered by Wolff "*vicem doles*," about as feeble a word as the Latin affords; Francis, "sincerely weep over."

* *ἐξητοῦμην*, simply "was demanded," will not express the meaning; for in those days demanding a person implied imprisonment or death.

saviour; he was all in all with them: if any one thought of saying anything to the contrary, not a word would they hear. You, on the other hand, though these transactions awakened your suspicions, and caused some impatience, still kept the peace (nor indeed could you help it, standing single as you did); and the other Greeks, as well as you, cheated and deluded in their hopes, strictly observed the peace, though already in some sort attacked by Philip. For when he was striding all around,* subduing the Illyrians and Triballians, and even some of the Greek states; when he was acquiring large accessions to his power; and when some persons under cover† of the peace were proceeding from different cities on a visit to be corrupted by him, Æschines among the rest; then I maintain that all the powers against whom he was

* *περιωρ*, an impressive word, rendered well by the Latin "*grassans*," to which our language has no very sufficient parallel. Francis has it feebly, "extending his conquests on every side." Dawson's "ranging up and down" is far better. Leland's "in the circuit of his expedition" reduces it to prose, and to a mere topographical point. The French "*dans ses courses*" gets rid of it completely.

† *ἔκρυπται* is left out by Dawson, who only says "on the peace." Leland's, "served the opportunity," renders it partly. Possibly "under cover" is more than the phrase means, which yet seems to imply something more than merely "taking advantage."

making such preparations were actually attacked. If they did not themselves perceive it, that is another thing, and no concern of mine, for I foretold it, and testified to it both here to you, and wherever else I was sent as ambassador. But all the states were infatuated, and while the ministers and magistrates of some were corrupted and bought with a price, in others neither individuals nor the people showed any provident circumspection, but all were taken with the ephemeral bait of indolence and ease, and all the states became so stricken with infatuation as to believe that nothing could befall themselves, but that they could work out their own safety by other people's perils.* It thus came to pass, as I conceive, that the people lost their independence through extreme and inopportune sloth, while the leading men, and they who designed

* Leland gives the sense generally, but loses the point of the expression when he says "that each community conceived themselves exempted from the common calamity, nay, that they could derive their own security from the public danger." The text is quite literal, and it preserves the point of the original, without the least deviation from English idiom. Dawson makes it "particular persons" instead of states, which is wrong; and he makes their plan be to secure their own wealth, which is still more erroneous. He had just before entirely missed the sense *ραστώνη*, as if it was that men were "drowned in luxury," which is altogether wrong, beside being a bad metaphor.

to sell everything but themselves, were found to have sold themselves first of all. Instead of friends and guests, names which they prostituted for lucre of gain, they must now be content to hear themselves called parasites, persons accurst, and whatever else fits them best. And justly!* For no one, Athenians, when he bribes ever looks to the benefit of the traitor; nor, when once possessed of the bribeworthy service, do we ever after trust the traitor. If we did, nothing could be more fortunate than the traitor's position. But it is not so by any means. How should it be? It is quite the reverse. No sooner has an ambitious usurper accomplished his purpose than he becomes master of those who have sold their country; and, thoroughly acquainted with their villany, he detests them, and distrusts them, and loads† them with insults. For, observe—if the events themselves are past and gone by, yet the opportunity of reflecting upon them is ever present to the wise. Time was that Philip called Lasthenes his friend until he had be-

* This passage is one of Δ's finest bursts; rapid, overpowering, full of matter—in one part every line has an allusion to some known passage of recent history—the words chosen are of extreme force, and connected with such skill that the torrent, while it roars and rages and dashes, is unbroken and clear.

† *προπηλακίζει* is worse than insults—covers them with dirt literally. Wolff's "*invectatur*" is clearly insufficient.

trayed Olynthus; time was that he thus termed Timolaus, till he had overthrown Thebes; and Eudicus and Simus, of Larissa, until they had surrendered Thessaly to his arms. Then, when they were chased away, and covered with indignities, and there was no maltreatment that they had not to endure, the whole habitable world* was filled with traitors. How fared Aristratus in Sicyon? How Perilaus at Megara? Are they not doomed to utter execration?† From whence any one may clearly perceive that whoso most stoutly defends his country, and most vehemently resists such men as those, supplies to you traitors and mercenaries, Æschines, the means of being bribed; and it is because such patriots are numerous and oppose your councils, that you can receive your

* It is hard to conceive why all translators should drop the *οικουμένη*, and give only "world." Leland, indeed, makes it only apply to the nation.

† *ἀπερρίμμενοι*, damned—*missi in malam rem*, literally—a word of extreme force; *abjecti*, says Wolff; Francis, "most abject and despised;" Dawson, "despised and sent into the lowest degree of contempt;" Leland, "in abject infamy." But multiplying weak words does not make a strong impression; besides, these words all refer to estimation, whereas *Δ* says they were damned—were under the infliction of a curse. Perhaps "doomed to execration" comes as near the original as we can well go. "Abominated," "execrated," will hardly do; it means that they have had sentence, and the sentence has been executed.

hire in safety ; for as far as depended on yourselves you must long since have perished.*

And now, although I have much more to say touching these transactions, yet I rather think I have dwelt too long upon them. But he is to blame for it ; his having poured out in our faces the crapulous remains† of his own profligacy

* ἀπολωλεῖτε may possibly mean “would have lost your trade;” but σφοῖ is there as well as ἐμμισθοῖ. Dawson however renders this single word “you must have been laid aside and your employment abolished.” With ἀπερρίμμενοι he had some kind of excuse for such prolixity ; here none at all.

† ἐλεωκρασίαν κατασκεῖσας—not merely “pouring out;” for σκεῖσας would mean that ; but pouring out against us—in our faces—like a pipe or a jet playing on us. Ἐλεωκρασία is the cup of last night’s debauch. What right has Stock to translate κατασκεῖσας, “evomuit?” Had not Δ Greek enough to have said ἐξημίσας, if he had chose so strong, too strong, a figure? His “*hesternam crapulum*” is not so bad. Wolff “*effuderit*” Francis is worse than usual here—“pouring out like a drunkard the excess of last night’s wine, the filthiness of his malevolence and villany;” the first part of which is a mere description of the meaning, not a version of the words ; and the latter quite gratuitous in one of the words, filthiness ; and in the other, malevolence, does not even resemble the sense of πονηρία. Dawson is here far better, though not close, “defiled me with his sottish ribaldry.” What follows is admirable as a figure grafted on that of Δ, “hath obliged me to wipe off his base and wicked aspersions ;” though he puts the “base and wicked aspersions” in the wrong place. Leland also uses the same figure—but it is, according to the French critics’

and crimes, made it indispensably necessary that I should justify myself in the eyes of persons who have been born since those transactions. Perhaps, however, you are fatigued with the subject, as before I had spoken a word, you were aware of his mercenary conduct. That, indeed, he terms friendship and hospitality; and in one part of his speech he described me as having considered Alexander's hospitality a shame. I speak of Alexander's hospitality to you! Whence did you derive it, or how earn it? Nor Philip's guest, nor Alexander's friend should I ever think of calling you; I am not so senseless; unless indeed we are to call reapers and others who work for hire the friends and guests of those who pay them wages. But it is not so; nothing of the kind! * Why should

bitter remark, "wit lent to Δ ;" for all that he says is "to acquit myself of them thus." The word is *απολυσασθαι*, not *απολουνσασθαι*. Possibly the translators have all read it with the *ο*, though I can find no such reading in any text. Francis has "purify" and Wolff "*eluere*." There seems even some reason to doubt if *ἐλεωκρασια* bears the sense on which these versions all proceed, of vomiting. The scholiast explains it by referring to the custom of pouring on the head of a debauchee, who had fallen asleep, the wine left in last night's cup—a somewhat odd figure doubtless for Δ to apply to himself or his audience; for it is upon them that Æschines is said to pour out his abuse.

* Where did Dawson get the "Flatter not thyself so much," wherewith he has here accommodated Δ ?

it be? Quite the reverse. But I and all here present call you the hireling, formerly of Philip, now of Alexander. If you doubt it, ask them. But I had rather do that for you. Men of Athens! whether do you consider Æschines as the hireling, or the guest of Alexander?—Do you hear what they say?—I now then proceed to answer this charge, and to explain my conduct, in order that Æschines, though he is well aware of the whole, may also hear my own statement of my just title both to the honours decreed, and to far greater than these. Read me, then, the Impeachment itself.*

IMPEACHMENT.

In the archonship of Chærondas, on the 6th of Elaphebolion, Æschines, the son of Atrometus, of the Cothocidian tribe, brought before the archon, Ctesiphon, the son of Leosthenes, of the Anaplystian tribe, for the offence of proposing an illegal† decree, to wit, that Demosthenes,

* λέγε γραφήν, λαβὼν. This is the constant idiom; as if we should say, “Take and read me the Impeachment.”

† *παράνομος* is undoubtedly illegal, but it seems more properly unconstitutional; as any decree made by the competent authority must be lawful, and the proposer of it only called on that authority to make what he propounded a law. But a law may be unconstitutional even though formally made—that is, it may be repugnant to the general spirit of the laws.

the son of Demosthenes, of the Pæanian tribe, should be crowned with a golden crown, and that it should be proclaimed in the theatre, while the new greater Dionysian tragedians acted, that the people crowned Demosthenes the son of Demosthenes of the Pæanian tribe, on account of his merits, and of his devotion to the service, as well of the whole Greek states as of the Athenian people, and on account of his magnanimity in consulting at all times, both by word and deed, the best interests of the said people, and in zealously promoting the same to the utmost of his power:—All which propositions were false and contrary to the laws; seeing that first the laws do not permit what is false to be propounded on the face of the public records, and next that they do not permit a public accountant to be crowned. But Demosthenes is a conservator of the walls, and has charge of the theatrical fund. Moreover, the crown ought not to be proclaimed in the theatre by the new tragedians, but in the senate-house, if he is to be crowned by the senate; at the Pnyx in full assembly, if by the people. Fine, 50 talents. Witnesses to the citation, Cephisophon, the son of Cephisophon of the Rhamnusian tribe, Cleon, the son of Cleon, of the Cothocidian.

Such, Athenians, are the grounds of his at-

tack upon the Decree of Ctesiphon. But I shall first of all make it plain to you from the Charge itself, that I am about to urge an honest defence. For I shall pursue the very order of what is stated in the Impeachment; and I shall speak to each article separately, not passing over any one thing knowingly. Touching the recital in the Decree, that I uniformly have consulted in word and deed the good of the people, and zealously endeavoured to further their interests to the best of my ability, upon which the panegyric is founded,* I take it that the truth of this must be tried by a review of my public conduct. For it is only by an examination of this that you can ascertain whether Ctesiphon's statements respecting me are true and just, or false. But as to his not inserting in the decree a proviso that I should only be crowned after rendering my accounts; and as to the directions that the coronation should take place

* Though the passage is of no remarkable importance, yet its version by Leland shows how careless of the original that great translator (by far the best of Δ's) often is, and how paraphrastical. He puts it thus: "As to the clause of that steady zeal in speaking and acting for the interest of this state, which I have ever discovered and still discover upon every occasion to the utmost of my power, and the honours appointed to me on this account." This is really a paraphrase of "and still discover." *εὐλογεῖν* may mean "decreeing honours," but is literally "eulogise."

in the theatre, I conceive that this belongs to the question of my public conduct, whether I deserve to be crowned and proclaimed in public, ay or no. Nevertheless, it appears right that I should refer to the laws which sanction the Decree in these respects.

It is thus, men of Athens, that I am resolved, honestly and frankly, to conduct my defence. I begin with the policy which I have pursued; and let no one imagine that I am digressing from the Charge, if I refer to my measures and my speeches upon the affairs of Greece.* For he who accuses the decree of stating that my councils and my measures were the best, and who charges this as a false statement—he it is that has rendered it both fitting and necessary for me to enter upon the whole subject of my policy and conduct. Now, there being many departments of the public service,† I devoted

* The extreme importance to Δ's case of the skilful movement, so to speak, by which he availed himself of Æschines' error, and at once entered on the general subject of his whole administration, thus escaping the immediate charge, to which he had no answer, and overwhelming his adversary by a triumphant defence on ground of his own choosing, required that he should again and again defend this movement, which he here does very carefully.

† This is the literal meaning of *πολλων προαιρεσεων ουσων της πολιτειας*, which Dawson renders unaccountably, "the many and various methods of policy used in the world."

myself to that of the Greek affairs. Therefore it is but just that I should draw my evidence from this department.

Those possessions,* then, which Philip seized and kept, before I entered into public life, before I began to debate, I say nothing of; for I do not consider them as concerning me at all. But those which ever since I came forward he has been prevented from seizing upon, of them I shall remind you, and shall render my account by a single observation. A prospect of great advantage opened to Philip. In the Greek states, not one or two, but all, there shot up a crop† of traitors, mercenary and abandoned, men hateful to the gods, such as no one's memory served him to recollect at any former period of time. Engaging these supporters and fellow-labourers, Philip seduced the Greeks, already ill disposed and seditiously inclined, to a worse disposition,

Δ clearly is speaking of Athens alone, and its public business or policy.

* Francis's "conquests and usurpations" is well enough, only that *προλαβειν* is to seize or take, and *κατασχειν*, to keep, while usurpation is *λαβειν* as much as conquest. Dawson has "acquisitions and usurpations;" Leland "conquests and acquisitions," which is the worst of the three. Wolff, "occupavit atque obtinuit."

† *φορα* means a crop or revenue among other things, as a supply. Leland has "provision;" Dawson, "a vast number." Wolff, rightly, "Leges."

deceiving some, bribing others, corrupting the rest in every way, and split into many factions those who ought to have had all one only common interest, that of preventing his aggrandisement. But in this state of things, and in the prevailing ignorance of all the Greeks as to the mischief which really existed and was growing apace,* your duty, Athenians, is to examine what course it was expedient for the country to choose and pursue, while you call me to account for what was done. For the man who then assumed the conduct of affairs, that man am I.

Was it fitting, Æschines, that this country should bring down her great spirit so worthy of herself, join Thessalians and Dolopians, help Philip in his designs upon the mastery of all Greece, and abandon all the glories and all the rights of our forefathers? Or, if she took not this part, (which assuredly it would have been monstrous to take,) was she to overlook those things when they actually came to pass, which she had descried when they were about to happen if no one interposed, ay, and had foreseen to all appearance for a long time before?†

* Some have given *φυσόμενον*, creeping on; but if Δ had intended such a figure, *ἐπιζοντος* was at his command. In fact, creeping does not apply to an evil already near, but on the increase.

† Nothing can be more paraphrastical, and indeed diffuse, than Leland is in this somewhat difficult passage, which is given literally in the text. For *περιεῖδεν γίγνο-*

But I would now willingly ask whosoever most blames our policy, what part he would rather the country had taken; that of those who have contributed so largely to the disasters and disgraces which have befallen Greece, among whom may be reckoned the Thessalians and their associates—or the part of those who suffered* all that happened, in the hope of working their own individual aggrandisement, among whom may be

μενα is here not to look around, and as it were see pass before her eyes, but to overlook or neglect the coming to pass of the things. Δ only says that the country had seen the events about to happen (εωρα συμβησομενα), and had been aware of them for a long while (προσθαινετο εκ πολλου). Leland will needs have it “who had foreseen, who seemed perfectly convinced of the consequences which must arise,” and then, “to have proved indifferent spectators when these consequences had really arisen.” The translation in the text gives the point by distinguishing the συμβησομενα from γιγνομενα; but our language, from its want of flexion and declension, and concord, is extremely deficient in powers of collocation, wherever the Latin, but still more the Greek (which has our resource of articles beside its own resources), can place the substantive and the verb in the most felicitous arrangement. In the present instance the collocation should be the reverse of what we are compelled, without repetition and interpolation, to adopt.

* περιωρακνις here is “having, or which has, neglected;” like περιιδειν in the last note. Why Stock has “passa est et neglexit” is not easily understood. One is enough, and “suffered” gives the sense. Leland might have rendered it by “were indifferent;” but he had no right to put “affected an indifference.”

classed the Arcadians, Argives, and Messenians? But many, or rather all of them, have fared worse than ourselves; and indeed had Philip, as soon as his object was attained, gone straight-way home, and remained thenceforward at peace, offering no kind of injury either to his allies or to the other Greek states, still they who had done nothing to resist his aggressions, would have been exposed to complaint and to blame. But if he stripped all alike of their dignity, their sovereignty, their freedom, nay, of their form of government, whenever he had the power, did you not follow the most glorious of all councils, when you listened to me? I come back to this point.* What ought the

* The passage that here follows is among the very finest in all Δ. The heavy fire of indignant invective is kept up throughout, only limited by the desire to avoid any too personal offence to an audience as vain as supine, and as impatient of censures as it was deserving of them. The rapidity of the declamation is striking in the highest degree; the number of topics crowded into a few words, (pages 48 and 49 especially) and the absolute perfection of their choice, is not to be surpassed. We are left at a loss to determine whether the substance or the diction should be preferred. Nothing too can be more natural than the introduction of this burst, nothing more closely bearing upon the argument. In modern eloquence passages of this very kind are never failing in success. The picture of Philip is truly fine; and it is both striking and figurative, especially the ὥστε τῷ λοιπῷ ζῆν. The appeal to the Athenians, and the contrast drawn between them and the natives of a mean

country to have done, Æschines, when it saw Philip preparing to assume the dominion and sovereignty of all Greece? Or what was I to urge or to propound in the councils of Athens? (for the place is very material) I, who knew that from all time up to the very day when I first mounted the rostrum, my country had ever struggled for supremacy, and honour, and glory, and had lavished more blood and more treasure for her own renown and the interests of all Greece, than any other state had ever risked for town, in respect of magnanimity, cannot be too much admired. In our Parliament, pages 48 and 49 could not have been easily delivered for the bursts of cheering they would have occasioned. I find Lord Wellesley prefers this to almost all the other passages in Δ.—It is such things as this that haunt the student of eloquence, and will not quit his mind by day or by night, in the solitary walk, or in the senate and the forum, filling him at once with envy and admiration, with an irrepressible desire to follow in such footsteps, and with absolute despair at the distance of his own.

The translators have not much distinguished themselves here, where they were bound to make every exertion; Leland makes Philip "dislocate his neck" (which is fatal); Stock, "*jugulo fracto*," which is as bad; instead of "fracture his collar-bone," which is easy and safe (*κλεῖν κατὰ γόνα*). Leland adds a verb to *χεῖρα*, and makes it "pierced;" he converts, moreover, the hand into the arm; and he renders the conclusion of the noble description, the finest part, indeed the very point of the whole, "that he might enjoy the rest with renown," instead of "that he might live with the rest to," &c.; or "that the rest might survive to renown," &c. Dawson is closer, though "withered" is not *πεπηρωμενον*.

its individual benefit—I, who saw that very Philip, with whom our conflict for command and for sovereignty was maintained, have his eye torn out, his collar-bone fractured, his hand and his leg mutilated, abandoning to Fortune whatever part of his body she chose to take, so that the rest might survive to honour and to glory? Yet even then no one would have dared say that in a man bred at an obscure and paltry town like Pella, such magnanimity could be engendered as to make him entertain the desire of subjugating Greece, or form in his mind such a plan, while in you, who are of Athens, and day by day contemplate the achievements of your ancestors in speeches and in spectacles,* such poorness of spirit could be bred, that willingly and of your own accord you should surrender to him the liberties of Greece. That is what no one would have dared to say.†

* How Francis got “contracted in your earliest education” seems incomprehensible: θεωρημασι means “school discipline” certainly; but here we have και λογοις joined with it, as well as καθ’ ἑκαστην ἡμεραν, which clearly gives the other meaning of the word. The Oxford translators have fallen into Francis’s error.

† Leland’s “Let not the presumptuous assertion be once heard” is as unlike οὐδ’ αν εἰς ταυτα φησειε as may be; though very possibly Δ might have used such a turgid phrase had it struck him—and had his taste been the same with his translator’s.

It remains then to confess as a necessary consequence, that whatever be attempted of injury against you, you might justly resist. This, therefore, you did from the first, naturally and properly. This I advised and propounded all the time I was in public life. I admit it. But what ought I to have done?—that I earnestly demand of you. Pass over everything else, Amphipolis, Pydna, Potidæa, Halonesus—I say nothing about them; Serrium, Doriscus, the devastation of Peparethus, and all the other wrongs of the same kind which have been done this country—I do not even know of their existence; and yet you, *Æschines*, charge me with having raised those enemies against the country, though the decrees were passed by Eubulus, and Aristophon, and Diopeithes, not by me, thou man ready to assert whatever suits thy purpose!*—I will for the present say nothing on these subjects. But he who seizes on Eubœa, and rears a fortress over against Attica, and lays his hands

* This stirring apostrophe to *Æschines* is by Francis reduced to a parenthesis—"as you can indeed very dexterously assert whatever you think proper." Dawson weakens it by paraphrase, and alters it by mistranslation, and omits the apostrophe, "so ready art thou to speak thy own sentiments whether right or wrong." It is not speaking his own sentiments, but stating falsehoods, that forms the charge of Δ in this passage. Leland has it, "No, thou prompt slanderer," which is better, but not close enough.

on Megara,* and occupies Oreum, and destroys Porthmus, and establishes Philistides as tyrant of Oreum and Clitarchus of Eretria, and takes possession of the Hellespont, and besieges Byzantium, and razes to the ground some of the Greek cities while he sends back their exiles† to others—is he, I demand, who does all this a wrong-doer, a breaker of treaties, a disturber of the peace, or is he not? Was it incumbent on some Greek state to stand forward and resent all this, or was it not? For if not, and if Greece must be made what we proverbially call a Mysian prey,‡ while the Athenians yet had life and being, assuredly I was undertaking a bootless task in making these statements, and the country was doing a bootless thing in listening

* *Επιχειρων* is not “meditating an expedition against” (Francis) but “laying hands upon.” Nor is *κατασκευων* “dismantling,” (ibid.) but “digging up the very foundations”—“razing to the ground;” Dawson, “levelled to the ground;” Wolff, “*effodit* ;” Leland, “razed.” This whole passage is wonderfully fine.

† *φνυαδας*. Why Dawson must add “traitors” I know not. He makes him “fill” the cities with the exiles instead of “drive them back.”

‡ *λειαν Μυσαν*. The weakness of the Mysians was proverbial, and many stories, jests, and songs turned on it. Hence this means a “by-word.” But Dawson must add, “and timidly resign herself a prey to the first invader.” He adds a whole figure to the *ζωντων και οντων*, about “waving banners at his head.”

to my councils—and then let all the faults committed and all the errors be mine! But, if some one was required to oppose Philip, who, save the people of Athens, could be found fit for the task? Such then was my course of policy; and seeing that he threatened the freedom of all mankind, I opposed him, and persevered in foretelling and in forewarning you against yielding to him.

And he it was, Æschines, who broke the peace by the capture of our ships, not this country. Produce the Decrees and his Letter, and read these documents in their order. For by attending to them, it will appear clearly to whom each event must be ascribed.

DECREE.

In the archonship of Neocles, in the month of Boedromion, at an Extraordinary Assembly convened by the Strategi. On the report of Eubulus, the son of Mnestheus, of Cyprus: Whereas Leodamus, the admiral, and twenty vessels under his convoy, despatched to the Hellespont for the importation of corn, have been carried into Macedon by Amyntas, an officer in Philip's service, and by him detained; it is resolved, that the Prytanes and Strategi take charge of calling together the senate and naming

ambassadors to Philip, which ambassadors shall on their arrival deal with him for the release of the admiral, the vessels, and the troops; and if Amyntas hath acted through ignorance, then that the People of Athens make no complaint of him; if the party detained has exceeded his instructions, that the People of Athens, upon proof thereof, will punish him according to the nature of his fault; but if neither of these things be the case, and either he who was sent upon this service or he who sent him hath clandestinely broken faith,* then that Philip be asked to write† to the People upon the matter, in order to their taking into their consideration what shall be done.‡

* *ἰδιᾷ ἀγνωμονοῦσιν*, is thus read by commentators; but how could taking a fleet be a secret operation? If *ἰδιᾷ* could be rendered "on their own part," the sense would be plain.

† *τοῦτο γραψαὶ λεγεῖν*. It seems Philip that was to write; and so all translators have it except Francis, who makes it the ambassadors, and Wolff, who has "*id indicandum*," altering the *λεγεῖν* to *εἰν*.

‡ Anything less like the style of Philip's letter than this most tame and spiritless production can hardly be conceived. Yet Δ disowns it, not for its want of spirit, but to avoid being made responsible for so rash an act. In truth we see throughout the whole of the contest with Philip the consciousness on the one side of weakness and on the other of strength. All Δ's spirit and patriotism are quelled at every turn by this essential ingredient in his case.

Now it was not I, but Eubulus, who proposed this Decree. The next was Aristophus's; then came Hegesippus's; then Aristophus' again; then Philocrates'; then Cephisophon's; then all the rest: I had no concern with them. Read Aristophus' Decree.

DECREE.

In the archonship of Neocles, the last day of Boedromion, by the advice of the Senate, the Prytanes and Strategi reported what had passed in the Assembly, to wit, that the People resolved to send ambassadors to Philip touching the release of the vessels, and to communicate the instructions and the Decrees of the Assembly. There were chosen as ambassadors Cephisophon, &c. In the Presidency of the tribe Hippothoontes, on the proposition of Aristophon of Colyttus.

As, therefore, I produce these Decrees, do you also, Æschines, show some Decree of mine whereby I brought about the war. But you have none to show; for if you had, nothing else would you have brought forward in preference to that. And indeed even Philip does not in any way lay the war to my charge; for he accuses others. But now read his own Letter.

LETTER.

Philip, King of the Macedonians, to the Senate and People of Athens, greeting. The ambassadors from you, Cephisophon, Democritus, and Polycritus, have repaired to me, and treated* of the release of the vessels under Ladomus's command. I consider you extremely simple if you suppose that the real destination of those vessels to succour the Selymbrians, besieged by me, and not comprehended in the subsisting treaties between us, could have been concealed from me, albeit their pretended object was the exportation of grain from the Hellespont to Lemnos. Moreover, those orders were given to the admiral, unknown to the Athenian people, by certain magistrates, and others who are now retired from office, † but who at all times are

* Francis renders *διελεγοντο*, "remonstrated concerning the dismissal of the ships," which is as if the remonstrance was *against* that dismissal. If "remonstrate" be used, it must be *for* "the dismissal;" but the word is only to discuss or treat of.

† *ἰδιωτων νυν οντων*, "now being in private stations," is as plain a phrase as plain can be; yet Dawson must have "now retired from business and living privately;" as if it confirmed a thing to say it twice over. Leland, however, reverses the sense, and has, without any meaning, as without any warrant, "others, in no private station." The whole of Leland's translation of this fine piece (the Letter)

desirous to plunge the people into a war contrary to the relations of amity prevailing between us, and are much more anxious to end that amity than to succour the Selymbrians; and from this course they expect to profit; but I do not deem it likely to benefit either you or me. Wherefore I send back those vessels which have been brought into our ports; and henceforth if you will not follow leaders who give you evil council, but visit them with punishment, I too shall do my endeavour to maintain the peace. Fare ye well!*

In this letter he nowise alludes to Demosthenes, nor makes any complaint against me. Wherefore, then, when accusing others, does he make no mention of my proceedings? Because,

is loose and paraphrastical: *αντι υπερχουσας φιλιας* he makes "violate their engagements;" *τοιουτον* he calls "such a rupture." Philip simply says, "I don't think this will profit either you or me." Leland makes him say, "Persuaded as I am that our mutual interests require us to frustrate such wicked schemes"—a most violent addition. *επιτιματε* he renders "let them feel the severity of your justice." This is really not the way to translate either Δ or Philip.

* The style, for dignity and expression, of this letter is equal to the policy which dictated it. The Athenians appear to little advantage in the contrast with this great though ambitious and unscrupulous prince. Even Δ adopts a low if not a whining tone in comparison.

had he spoken of me, he must have commemorated his own wrong-doings. To these I had stuck, to these opposed myself. First I obtained by Decree an embassy to Peloponnesus, the moment he was seen creeping up* towards Peloponnesus—then another to Eubœa, when he threatened Eubœa—then an expedition to Oreum, not a mission—and another to Eretria, when he planted tyrants in those cities. Afterwards I sent all the naval armaments by which the Chersonese, and Byzantium, and all our allies were saved. From all these measures were derived to you the noblest results—eulogies—glories—honours—crowns—the gratitude of those whom you saved—while they whom Philip had maltreated,† if they followed your councils, secured their own salvation; if they neglected your repeated warnings, had the persuasion that you not only had their interests at heart, but were sagacious and prophetic men; for everything came to pass as you had foretold.

* παραδυν is something more than ερπεζω, which is crawling like a serpent. It is from δυν, to come up; παραδυν is, to creep up to a level.

† ἀδικουμένων. Leland unaccountably renders this “those who had injured us,” whereas it is passive; and the next clause shows the impossibility of his version, for Δ speaks of one class of the ἀδικουμένοι as having followed the Athenian councils. Dawson is right here—“these oppressed people.”

And now that Philistides would have given a great deal* to keep Oreum, and Clitarchus a great deal to keep Eretria, and Philip himself a great deal to retain those advanced posts against you, and not to be charged with all those other outrages, nor be called to account for the wrongs he was everywhere perpetrating, no one is ignorant, and you, Æschines, least of all men. For the ambassadors who came to us from Clitarchus and Philistides lived at your house and you did the honours† of the city to them. The state, indeed, sent them away as enemies, and as urging what was neither honourable nor becoming; yet they were your friends. Thus none of all you have stated is true,‡ thou reviler, who

* The repetition of the phrase *πολλα χρηματα* and its simplicity is striking. In our orations the figure would be quite admissible, and is often used with effect. Then the emphasis is laid on "great," and sometimes "very" is introduced by way of climax.

† *προυξενοι*—were those appointed to do the honours or exercise the public hospitality to strangers of note; as in 1814, persons of distinction were appointed to attend foreign princes visiting this country, and more recently when the Sandwich Island chiefs and Russian princes visited us.

‡ The great distance between this and the antecedent to which it refers, makes me strongly incline to think that the real meaning of *ου τοινον επραχθη τουτων ουδεν* is "None of these suggestions were followed;" the last antecedent being *ουτε εικαια ουτε συμφεροντα*. All the translators, however, choose the other sense, going back a page or two for an antecedent, contrary to all likelihood.

can yet charge me with keeping silence when I take a bribe, and bawling out when I have spent it. That, indeed, is not your way; you both bellow when you have got your bribe, and will never cease to bellow until this assembly shall stop your mouth this day by stamping you with infamy.

When, therefore, for these services you crowned me, and when Aristonicus framed the Decree in the very syllables * now employed by Ctesiphon; when the coronation was announced in the theatre, and a second proclamation thus fell to my share; Æschines, who was present, neither opposed it nor impeached the author of the proceeding. Read me then that Decree.

DECREE.

In the archonship of Charondas, the 25th of Gamelion, in the presidency of the Leontian tribe, on the proposition of Aristonicus of Phreara: Whereas Demosthenes, the son of Demosthenes of the Pæanian tribe, hath rendered many and great services to the Athenian People, and to many of their allies, and both heretofore and at this present time hath by his Decrees succoured and freed several of the Eubœan states, and still

* συλλαβας—we rather say “the very words” or “letters” than syllables.

perseveres in his zeal for the Athenian People, and both councils and does whatever in him lies for the benefit of the said People and the rest of Greece ; it hath pleased the Senate and People of Athens to signalise Demosthenes, the son of Demosthenes of the Pæanian tribe, and to crown him with a crown of gold, and to proclaim the coronation in the theatre by means of the new Dionysian performers ; directing the presiding tribe and the superintendant of games to take charge of the proclamation of the crown. On the motion of Aristonicus of Phreara.*

Is there one of you who conceives the state to have suffered any disgrace from this Decree, or that there was anything despicable or laughable in it, as he says would now follow from my being crowned ? But as these transactions are recent and notorious, if they were right, they will receive commendation ; if wrong, punishment. I, however, must be admitted to have received thanks upon the occasion, and not censure or punishment.

Wherefore, down to the time when these things were transacted, it is confessed that my

* The difficulty of Δ's Greek, and the difference of ordinary Greek composition, is not anywhere more perceptible than when the language of these Decrees is compared with his diction.

measures were ever conducive to the public good, whensoever in your deliberations I could prevail, in favour of the Decrees which I propounded; that when my Decrees were acted upon, crowns were bestowed on the country and on me; and that you offered up sacrifices and thanksgivings to the gods for the fortunate conduct of your affairs. But after Philip was driven from Eubœa by your arms, by my councils and decrees, however, (let some of these men burst if they will!*) he sought out some new mode of beleaguering our state. Perceiving that we consumed a greater quantity of foreign grain than any other nation, he became eager to make himself master of the corn-trade, marched upon Thrace, and urged the Byzantians, his confederates, to join him in attacking you. But when they refused, and alleged most truly that their alliance with him extended not to this, he drew his works round their city, planted his batteries †

* *διαρρώγῃσι*. The strength of the figure is again an instance of the character already cited from Athenæus. There is no mention of "envy" here, though Leland and the other English translators add it. Δ may have meant spite, impatience, hatred, revenge, as well as envy, the addition of which is to assign a vainglorious meaning. Leland translates the whole paraphrastically—rendering *ὅπλοις ὑμῶν*, "the military glory was yours," in order to work out the antithesis.

† *χαρακώματα*—circumvallations, works—*μηχανήματα*,

against it, and formed the siege. In these circumstances, I will not ask what course we were called upon to pursue, for that is manifest to all. But who was it that succoured the Byzantians and saved them? Who that prevented the Hellespont at that juncture from being alienated? You, men of Athens. But when I name you, I mean the whole country. But who was it that counselled the country, and propounded the Decree, and carried the measures, and unsparingly, and without reserve, devoted himself to your service? It was I. And how much these things advanced the common interests needs not be learnt from words; you have felt it in the results; for the war which was undertaken, independent of the splendid glory which it brought you, made all the necessities of life more abundant and cheaper than they were in time of that peace which these worthy persons would have you maintain against the best interests of their country, in the hopes of something happening hereafter, (hopes which I pray may be disappointed,) nor share in those blessings which you, in your patriotic courses, have supplicated the gods to grant, nor mete out to you the boons they choose for themselves! But read them the Byzantian and Perinthian

engines—catapults—batteries. Dawson's "drawing a trench round the walls" is not right.

Crowns, bestowed on this country for its services to those states.

DECREE OF THE BYZANTINIANS.

In the pontificate of Bosporicus, Damagetus thus reported to the Senate, having obtained leave to speak—Whereas the People of Athens, having on all former occasions steadily befriended the Byzantians and their allies, and their kinsmen, the Perinthians, have, in the present juncture, conferred great and important benefits upon them, and when Philip of Macedon invaded the country and the cities of the Byzantians and Perinthians, ravaged their territories, and cut down their timber, did send 120 ships laden with grain, arms, and troops, whereby they rescued us from great perils, and restored to us the constitution, the laws, and the sepulchres of our forefathers; may it therefore please the People of Byzantium and Perinthus to confer upon the Athenians the rights of marriage, citizenship, property in lands and houses,* precedence at spectacles, admission to the senate and assemblies near the ministers of religion; also to such as desire to reside in the city, exemption from serving compulsory offices;† and

* οἰκῖαν in some readings. Reiske suggests οἰκίας, correctly it should seem.

+ Francis and Dawson and Leland render αἰτιουργητοῖς

to direct that three statues, of sixteen cubits high, be erected on the Bosphorus, indicating that the Athenian People have been crowned by the People of Byzantium and Perinthus ; and that proclamations * be despatched to the solemn meetings of Greece, the Isthmian, Nemean, Olympian, and Pythian, to announce the crowning by us of the Athenians, to the end that all the Greeks may know the merits of the Athenians, and the gratitude of Byzantium and Perinthus.

Read now the Chersonesitan Decree of coronation.

The Chersonesitans, inhabitants of Sestus, Eleus, Madytus, Halonesus, crowned the Senate and People of Athens with a golden crown of sixty talents' value, and erected an altar to gratitude and the Athenian People, for having conferred on the Chersonesitans the greatest of

ἡμιν πᾶσαν τὴν λειτουργίαν, "exemption from all taxes and imposts." Wolff has it "*immunitatem omnium onerum civilium*." But the word *λειτουργία* means "serving an office."

* Reiske has *θεωρίας*—Wolff and others *δωρεάς*. The former seems the preferable reading. Why presents were to be sent to the games, and who was to receive them, is hard to understand. Francis, Dawson, and Leland, however, all read *δωρεάς*.

all benefits in rescuing from the hands of Philip, and restoring to them, their country, their laws, their liberty, their religion. Nor will they ever, through all ages, cease to be grateful for the same, and to do the Athenians all the good in their power. Decreed in Public Council.

Not only, then, were the Byzantians and Perinthians saved; not only was Philip prevented from seizing upon the Hellespont; not only was this country honoured for these achievements, through my measures and my policy; but the unsullied integrity of Athens, and the iniquity of Philip were made manifest to all mankind. For it was seen by all that he who was the friend and ally of the Byzantians had laid siege to their capital, than which what could be conceived more scandalous, more mean? * But you, who had so many and such just grounds of complaint for their misdeeds in times past, were seen not only unwilling to remember your own wrongs, or to desert those who were themselves suffering under injustice, but anxious to save them; and thus you gained glory and favour and honour

* Francis gets rid of this fine exclamation, and makes it a parenthesis; he renders *αἰσχρὸν* infamous, though shameful or scandalous is better. Wolff has "fœdius aut sceleratius." Dawson, "base and iniquitous." Leland, "a baser, a more abandoned outrage"

with all. Now every one knows that many of our statesmen have been crowned by you. But no one can name any individual, save myself, I mean any minister or orator, through whom the country has been crowned.

Now, in order to show that all the invectives which he has levelled against the Eubœans and Byzantians, as often as he made mention of their having done any thing vexatious* towards you, are pure calumnies, not only because they are utterly false (for that I imagine is already plain enough to your apprehension), but because, even if they were well founded, still the course which I pursued, in administering your affairs, was the most expedient, I will advert to one or two transactions which took place with glory to the country, and I will do so very briefly. For it becomes individuals in their private concerns, and the state in public affairs, to shape their subsequent conduct in consistency with the brightest passages of their former lives.†

* *Τι δυσχερες* is rendered "errors" by Francis, though it means unhandy, hurtful, vexatious, and is almost the reverse of mere mistake. Accordingly Leland calls it "offences." Dawson has made a word "diskindness" for the occasion.

† Francis has well rendered the meaning here. Stock leaves it doubtful by putting "*exempla quæ sibi extant*;" though adding "*reliquas actiones*" seems to ascertain the "*exempla*." Dawson's "single out the most illustrious ex-

You, then, men of Athens, when the Spartans had the ascendant by land and by sea, and held all Attica round under their control and keeping, and Eubœa, and Tanagra, and all Bœotia, Megara, Ægina, Cleone, and the other islands, while this country had neither ships nor bulwarks, you marched to Haliartus, and a few days after to Corinth, at a moment when you had many grounds of complaint* against the Corinthians and the Thebans for their conduct in the Decelian war. But you remembered them not; nothing of the kind; and this, Æschines, the people did, not because of any benefit received, or because they descried no perils; but because they would not cast off those who had fled to them for refuge, nay, would rather expose themselves to all dangers, rightly† and nobly consulting their own glory and honour. For death happens to all men at the last, even if they flee for safety to the cellar;‡

amples" is also doubtful at the least. λοιπα leaves no doubt. Francis is wrong in putting πειρασθαι πραττειν, to excel.

* *μνησικακησαι*. Wolff has "*causas simultatum*" (habere). Stock "*injurias recordari et objicere*;" but there is no "*objicere*" in the Greek.

† *ορθως*—Francis: "consulting their interest." Dawson, "no less honest than heroic." Leland very prolixly, "and surely their determination was just and generous."

‡ *καθειρας τηρη*. Literally, may shut himself up for

but the brave must ever attempt glorious deeds, animated by fair hope, and boldly resolved to endure whatever lot Heaven may send. Thus did our forefathers, thus did the more aged among yourselves, when you opposed the Thebans, after the battle of Leuctra, in their invasion of the Spartans, who were neither your friends nor benefactors, but had committed many and serious wrongs against this country; opposed * them, undismayed by their power or the glory they then possessed, nor caring what those had done in whose behalf you were about to encounter dangers. You thus declared to all the Greek states, that whatever any of them

defence. Francis, "hide himself for safety." Dawson, "the most secret inclosures (*οικισκῷ*) cannot guard against it." Leland, "into whatever corner he may shrink from the inevitable blow"—the blow being a figure kindly lent to Δ. As *οικισκος* means a cellar or other secret recess, why it should be left out, when it greatly aids the picturesque description, is inconceivable. If cellar seems too low, it may be rendered "if he seeks safety in the most secret lurking place."

* Francis and Taylor think a verb *εβουλησαν* wanting here to govern "Spartans." It seems, however, only an inversion, and the *επιχειρουν* governs *Λακεδαιμονιους*. Wolff is, as usual, right, and so are Dawson and Leland; although the latter wholly mistranslates *και δοξαν*, making it the motive of the Athenians, whereas it is coupled with *ρωμην* by the plain sense, the want of another verb to connect it with the Athenians, and the verb *επαρχουσιν*, which covers both substantives.

might have done to injure you, you reserved your displeasure for the proper occasion ; and that if they came to be in jeopardy of their security or their liberty, you neither remembered the injury, nor called them to account.

Nor was it only then that such were your dispositions ; but when again the Thebans claimed Eubœa, you did not leave them to their fate ; you did not bear in mind the injuries you had sustained from Themison and Theodorus respecting Oropus, but you succoured even them from the time that voluntary trierarchs were made, of whom I was one. But we are not yet come to that point. You acted nobly, however, in saving the island ; but far more nobly still, when, after gaining possession both of troops and towns,* you restored both to those who had wronged you, nor exacted any reparation for their injuries from those who now put their trust in you.

Numberless things which I might here add,

* *σωμάτων και πόλεων*. Most translators render this "inhabitants and cities," as if the allusion were to sparing their lives. Apparently *σωμάτων* refers to the soldiery, because *αποδοῦναι* applies to giving back those who had been saved as prisoners ; *σώματα* is used often in contradistinction to *χρηματα*, as the French speak of the *personnel* and *matériel* of an army. It is also used for slaves, or such men as can be held in property. This may be its meaning here.

I pass over; sea-fights, expeditions by land,* armaments undertaken both in former times and of late by yourselves—all which the country did for the liberties and the safety of the rest of Greece. When, therefore, I saw that in such and so great emergencies she was determined to exert herself for the interests of others, what was I to urge or what advise her to do when the case in some sort became her own? Was I, good heavens! to make her remember the aggressions of those who wanted to be saved by her, and seek out pretexts for betraying the interests of all? And who is there that might not have been justified in putting me to death had I attempted by a single word of mine to tarnish the country's glories? For that you yourselves were incapable of doing such a thing I full well knew. Had you been so disposed, what was there to hinder you? Had you not full power? Were not those very men at hand ready enough to recommend it?

I would now revert to my measures in their order; and do you again consider what in the circumstances was most for the public benefit. When I saw, Athenians, that your navy was decaying; that the wealthier classes were escaping

* Leland is right in rendering *πεζαε*, literally "on foot," as denoting land, in contradistinction to the *ναυμαχιαε*. Wolff joins it with *σπαρτιαε*.

all taxes by paying an insignificant contribution, while the citizens in moderate or in poor circumstances were sacrificing all they had; and that the country was thus losing the means of acting until the occasion had passed by; I carried a law by which I compelled the rich to contribute their share, and protected the poor from being oppressed, and I provided what was most advantageous to the country, that all warlike preparations should be ready at the proper time. Being impeached for Illegal* Proposition, I appeared before you—I was acquitted—and my accuser had not a fifth part of your votes. But then how much, think you, the first class of citizens, or those in the second, or even in the third rank, would have given me not to carry this law, or if I must, then that I should suffer it to be frustrated by taking the Oath of Postponement?† So much, Athenians, that I dare ‡

* γραφεις τον αγωνα τον παρανομων. It was properly unconstitutional rather than illegal; but having always rendered the phrase as a technical term, which the γραφη παρανομων was, it is better to adhere to the same words.

† καταβαλοντα εαν εν υπωμοσια must mean as in the text. Leland translates the last word "affected cavil and delay." But the word refers to the oath taken when a trial was postponed for cause, to go on with it another day. Dawson is wrong in translating καταβαλοντα "defer," it is "frustrate—defeat."

‡ οκνεομαι is "I dare not," or "I am slow," or "unwill-

not state it in this place; and it was worth their while to do so. For by the old laws they could combine sixteen together* to bear one assessment, so as to pay little or nothing individually while they ground down the poorer citizens; but my law provided that each should contribute according to his means; so that the same person now gives two galleys, who had before contributed only the sixteenth part of one; nor indeed did they call themselves trierarchs, but contributors. Hence there was nothing they would not have given to defeat me and escape being compelled to contribute their fair proportion. Now first read me the Decree by which it was prosecuted, and then the Assessment, both according to the old law and according to mine.

ing," not "I am ashamed;" yet Leland, Francis, and Dawson all have the latter. Wolff, "*non audeo*"

* συνεκκαίδεκα λειτουργεῖν is literally, "sixteen together fill the office," and accordingly Wolff has it "*munera obire*." But the sense is plainly as in the text; for the manner of assessing was to appoint those who should furnish ships, trierarchs, which was an office entailing on the holder the providing a galley, and no other duty seems to have belonged to it; as if we should, instead of allowing men to raise regiments for rank and then to command them, oblige them to raise regiments and not let them have the command. The plan of ship-money in the seventeenth century resembled this, counties being ordered to find a ship or ships.

DECREE.

In the archonship of Polycles, the 16th of the month Boedromion, and the presidency of the tribe Hippothois, Demosthenes, the son of Demosthenes of the Pæanian tribe, brought forward a law upon the duty of trierarchs, instead of the former law, whereby the naval constitutions were regulated, and the Senate and the People decreed accordingly; and Patrocles, of the Phlyan tribe, impeached Demosthenes of Illegal Proposition, but not obtaining the fifth part of the votes, he was fined in fifty drachms.*

Produce now the fine old assessment.

ASSESSMENT.

Let † trierarchs for providing a galley be named in bodies of sixteen, according to their contributions in tribes, from 25 to 40 years of age, and let them bear the expense of this office equally.

* After omitting to mark the difference of style, as has been above observed, Leland here all at once becomes formal and technical when the original is not, and renders the simple conjunction καὶ "Be it remembered."

† Francis omits the first part of the assessment altogether; it is not easy to see why.

Produce now, to compare with that, the assessment according to my law.

ASSESSMENT.

Let trierarchs be chosen for providing one galley according to their means, from among those rated at ten talents; but if their substance be found greater by the rate, then let the burden be laid in the aforesaid proportion, as far as three galleys and a boat. But let the same proportion be observed as to those whose fortune is under ten talents, they being joined together in order to make up ten talents.

Do I now appear to you as having but little holpen the poor? Or think you that the rich would give but little to escape paying their just share? Wherefore I glory, not because I yielded not to the latter, or because I was acquitted on the impeachment; but because I enacted a beneficial law, and that I have proved it such by its working. For while fleets were fitted out according to its provisions during the whole war, not a single trierarch ever preferred a complaint to you of unjust treatment—none took sanctuary in Munychia*—none were impri-

* A temple of Diana in that promontory afforded sanctuary against execution under sentences of courts; but

soned by the naval superiors—no galley captured abroad was lost to the country—none were left at home incapable of putting to sea. Yet all these things used to happen under the old law, owing to the poor being made to bear the burden: many cases, therefore, of their incapability occurred. But I transferred the galley service from the needy to the wealthy; and then all was accomplished that could be required. On this account, therefore, I may justly challenge applause for pursuing the policy from which both glory and honour and power resulted to the country, while in that policy there was nothing invidious, or harsh,* or malignant; nothing abject or unworthy of Athens; and it is manifest that I administered in the same spirit our domestic affairs and those of Greece at large; for I neither in regard to this country preferred the favour of the rich to the rights of the people; nor in regard to our foreign policy did I value the largesses and the hospitality of Philip above the common interests of the Greek states.

It remains for me, I conceive, to speak of the some hold this to allude to a court of appeal in nautical causes held there.

* *πικρον* is harsh; but some, as Dawson, call it spleen; and others, as Leland, rancour. *βασκανον* is plainly invidious, from both the derivation and the sense; and so all have it, though Dawson must needs add “no tincture,” to give Δ’s negation force.

Proclamation and of the Accounts ;* for I think I have sufficiently shown, by what I have stated, that I always acted for the best, was zealous in your service, and bent upon pursuing your good. The greater part of my policy and my conduct, however, I pass over, considering in the first place that I have to discuss fully the charge of Illegal Proposition, and next, that should I say nothing of my other measures, the conscience of each of you would be my witness before you.

As to those arguments which, in utter confusion,† he has flung out about his comparative exhibition of the laws,‡ I protest, I neither con-

* The Greek is only *των εὐθυνων*. Francis is clearly right in the meaning, but gives a paraphrase, not a translation—"the obligation of passing my accounts before I am crowned." This habit of weakening the sense, smothering it with words, is what makes Δ appear so unlike himself in most translations. Wolff's "*rationibus referendis*" is made necessary by the Latin having no word answering to our "accountant."

† *ἀνω καὶ κάτω διακυκλών*. Dawson has rendered this, "tedious and perplexed harangue;" but why tedious? Francis, "confused and perplexed." Leland, "confusion and embarrassment." Wolff, "*sursum et deorsum permistos*." Literally, "confused, topsy-turvy."

‡ *περὶ των παραγεγραμμενων*. Francis, following Taylor, is clearly right here. The phrase refers to the laws of which Æschines had theatrically exhibited a copy, to show how they had been violated. *Παραγραφή* is to write side by side, or copy. Wolff's "*legis exceptivæ*" is no

ceive that you comprehend them, nor could I myself follow the greater part of them. But I shall plainly and in a straightforward way argue the point of law. So far am I from contending against my being accountable, as he has now more than once falsely and distinctly affirmed, that I admit myself to be all my life long answerable for whatever I have ever either undertaken* or administered in your service. But respecting those gifts which, in performance of promises,† I made to the people from my private fortune, I deny that I am accountable for a single day. Do you hear, Æschines? Nor is any other person accountable; no, nor any one who may happen to be among the Archons. For where is the law so full ‡ of injustice and cruelty as to strip of all the graces of generosity the man who has been lavish of his fortune upon the public in the performance of benevolent and munificent deeds, leaving him a prey to false accusers, and arming them with the power of call-

translation at all, if it has any meaning at all. Dawson sinks the phrase in the convenient way, not unusual with translators, who are indolent or ignorant; he being of the former class. Leland has "his authentic transcript of the laws."

* διακεχειρικα—take in hand, had in hand.

† επαγγελιαμενος δεδωκα clearly means as in the text.

‡ μεστος—perhaps "loaded, stuffed." Francis, "full." Dawson omits it. Leland, "pregnant." Wolff, "plena."

ing him to account for the gifts which he has given? * There is nowhere such a law. If he says there is, let him produce it, and I shall sit down and be silent. But there is no such law, Athenians. But this calumniator, because, when superintendent of theatres, I spent money of my own, affirms that the senate has pronounced a panegyric upon a public accountant. It was not for any such expenditure as made me an accountant, calumniator; it was for my voluntary gifts. "But then," says he, "you were also Superintendent of the Wall Repairs." And so on this very ground was I eulogized, because I made a free gift of the sums expended, and did not charge them as expenditure. For expenditure implies accountants and auditors, but donations justly call for thanks and praise. Hence this decree (of Ctesiphon) in my favour.

Now that all this is not only sanctioned by our laws, but established by our common feel-

* *τοὺτους ἐπὶ τὰς εὐθύνας ἐφίσταναι*—to place them over (or as superintendents of) accounts—to make them auditors. The phrase is very fine, to express the unreasonableness of so treating voluntary contributors. Francis and Dawson lose it entirely, the one having "make them judges of his liability," (which is not the sense at all;) the other, "examiners and judges," which would have been better without the "judges." Leland loses the true meaning, but gives a good turn of another kind—"give them a power to scrutinize his bounty." Wolff, as usual, has the meaning, though here he is long, "*rationibus reposcendis præficiat.*"

ings,* I shall easily show by many proofs. For first, Nausicles, when Strategus, was frequently crowned by you, in consideration of the sums which he expended from his private fortune; next, Diotimus, for the shields which he gave, and afterwards Charidemus, were both crowned. Then Neoptolemus standing there, who was superintendent of many public works, obtained honours for the money he gave towards them. It would indeed be hard † if a man in office were not suffered to give his own money towards the expenses of his own department, or were to be made a public accountant in respect of the sums so given, instead of receiving the thanks of the country. To prove the truth of what I say, read me the Decrees made respecting those whom I have named.

DECREE.

In the archonship of Demonicus of the Phlyan

* ἡθεσιν, not ἔθεσιν, which translators, including even Wolff, have supposed it to be when they rendered it customs or usages.

† σχετλιον—Francis, "It would be deplorable." Though this is the meaning of the word, and if Δ were looking to the effects on the public service of the course he is deprecating, this might be the right translation, yet it seems as if he were only arguing on the treatment of the benefactor, in which case hard, or cruel, another meaning, is the right one. Dawson, "Hard would be the lot." Leland, "Hard." Wolff, "Acerbum."

tribe, and on the 26th of Boedromion, by the advice of the Senate and People, Callias of Phreara declared that it has pleased the Senate and People that Nausicles, general of infantry, be crowned, for that 2000 Athenian heavy troops being in Imbrus, and aiding the Athenian inhabitants of the said island, and Philo, the superintendent of finance, not being able, by reason of the tempestuous weather, either to make sail or to pay the said troops, Nausicles contributed his own money, and did not charge the public; and further, that the Coronation be proclaimed at the exhibition of the new tragedians.

SECOND DECREE.

Callias of Phreara, upon the report of the Prytanes, after consulting the Senate, declared that, whereas Charidemus, general of infantry, being sent with the fleet to Salamis, and Diotimus, general of cavalry, when sundry soldiers had been despoiled by the enemy at the battle fought near the river, did, at their own charge, equip the new recruits with 800 shields; it hath therefore pleased the Senate and People that Charidemus and Diotimus be crowned with a golden crown, and that proclamation thereof be made at the great festival of Minerva, in the Gymnical contest, and at the Dionysian exhibi-

tion of the new tragedians ; and that the Thesmothetes, Prytanes, and Prefects of Games take charge of the proclamation.

Every one of those men, Æschines, was a public accountant in the office which he held, but was not an accountant in respect of those things for which he was crowned. Wherefore, neither am I an accountant ; for I have, in every respect, the same rights with them. I gave money to the state, and was thanked for it, not called to account for what I gave. I was in office, and I rendered an account of what appertained to my office, not of what I freely bestowed. But then, forsooth, it seems I exercised my office wrongfully.* Then why did not you impeach me,—you who were present when the auditors cited me to answer ? To show you, therefore, that he is himself the witness of my being crowned for the expenditure about which I had not to render any account, produce

* *αδικως ηρξε*. Francis exceeds himself and all other paraphrasians here. These two words he spins into, “ I have been guilty of strange misdemeanors in the discharge of these employments.” Is not this really making a speech for Δ ? Then why must a new person, “ the secretary,” be called in to read this decree ? Δ only says, take and read. The omission of *προβουλευμα*, previous order, is also quite wrong. Francis, instead of this, says, “ every article.”

and read the whole Decree concerning me ; for, from the things which are not charged in that previous Decree, he will appear to be a false accuser in his present charge.—Read.

DECREE.

In the archonship of Euthycles, the 22d of Pyanepsion, and the presidency of the Ceneid-ian tribe, on the proposition of Ctesiphon, the son of Leosthenes the Anaphlystian :—Whereas Demosthenes, the son of Demosthenes the Pæanian, being Curator of the Wall Repairs, and having advanced three talents out of his private fortune towards the works, did give the same to the people, and being Superintendent of the Theatrical Fund, did give to the theatrical fund of all the tribes one hundred minæ towards the expense of sacrifices ; it hath therefore pleased the Senate and People of Athens to honour Demosthenes, the son of Demosthenes the Pæanian, on account of his merit and the public spirit which, on every occasion, he perseveringly displays towards the Athenian People ; that he be crowned with a crown of gold ; and that proclamation be made thereof in the theatre at the Dionysian exhibition of the new tragedians. The superintendent of games is charged with having the proclamation made.

That, therefore, is what I gave, and you have made no mention of it in your Charge; but what the senate ordered to be given to me in return was that for which you are impeaching me. While, then, you confess that it is lawful to receive my gifts, do you charge as illegal the gratitude of the people in return? Good Heavens! what manner of man can he be who is utterly profligate, and hateful to the gods, and truly detestable? * Is not he precisely such a one as this?

Then as to the proclamation in the theatre, I pass over its having been done thousands of thousands of times, and myself having been often before crowned there. But, gracious Heavens! Æschines, are you perverse † and

* *βασκανος οντως*, truly envious, is the ordinary sense; but after *παμπονηρος* and *θεοις εχθρος* this would be an anticlimax, while *βασκανος* is used for nefarious, or abandoned, or detestable. Francis gives it "possessed with the most malignant spirit of envy;" words enough, surely, if that would suffice, to raise the sense above the antecedent epithets. Dawson, on the other hand, has not one; but, to make up for leaving out *βασκανος* and *θεοις εχθρος*, he expands *ουχ' ο τοιοντος* into "And yet does not Æschines own himself to be a man of these detestable principles?" Leland has "malignant wretch," and puts *θεοις εχθρος* after it, to help Δ apparently out of this anticlimax. Wolff, "revera lividus."

† *σκαιος* is rendered "perverseely absurd" by Francis, and by Dawson "weak;" *αναισθητος* seems to imply the

senseless to such a pitch, as not to perceive that the crown bestows the same glory wherever it may be proclaimed, and that the proclamation in the theatre is only for the benefit of those who confer the crown? For thus all the spectators are stimulated well to serve their country, and they applaud those who bestow more than those who receive the crown. Wherefore the state enacted this law. But take now and read it.

LAW.

What persons soever shall be crowned in any of the provinces, let the proclamations thereof be made in those provinces severally, unless any shall be crowned by the Senate and People of Athens. Of such it shall be permitted to make proclamation in the theatre at the Dionysian exhibition.

Do you hear, Æschines, the law distinctly saying, "Unless any be crowned by the senate and people; but these may be proclaimed in

absurdity sufficiently; and Δ never repeats or throws away any epithet. The meaning is "perverse," from *σκαζω*, to halt or limp; and denotes here a judgment maimed or perverted by spite. Wolff's "*recors et stupidus*" comes pretty near. The Frenchman, as usual, escapes by suppression, making "*êtes vous assez dépourvu de sens*" serve for both the Greek words.

the theatre?" Why, then, wretch, do you bring your false accusations? Why do you fabricate words? Why don't you purge your brain with hellebore for your malady? Are you not ashamed to prosecute through spite where no offence has been committed, and to pervert some of the laws and garble* others, when in common justice the whole should have been cited, especially before those who have sworn to decide by these laws? And then, while such is your own conduct, you must lay down what sort of person a popular chief ought to be, as if one who had ordered a statue according to a given model† should accept it,

* ἐλληβορίζεις ἐπὶ τοῦτοις. Francis makes Δ stop to tell the Athenians that hellebore was used to purge away "the madness of the brain." Dawson "to purge the head of those disorders which have thrown them into so great a phrenzy." In adding even the "brain" in the text more is done than is perhaps warranted or necessary; but "purging with hellebore" might seem equivocal. Again, for ἀφαιρῶν μέρη, "taking away parts," garbling, is a sufficient version, and a strictly correct one. Francis has "quoted partially," which is well enough; but Dawson adds a whole idea, and one quite superfluous for giving the sense, when he says, "produce only such parts as make for your own purpose."

† The original is certainly not "model," but "bond or agreement," συγγραφῇ; but the sense seems to indicate that the agreement contained a model or plan; else the comparison fails; for if it were only the written parts of the bargain,

though made on a different model entirely, or as if public men were to be known by their words and not by their deeds and their measures.* And you bawl out, like a strolling player,† things whether fit to be spoken or not, and suited to you and your race, not to me.

The case, however, men of Athens, stands thus. I hold abuse to differ from impeachment in this, that impeachment embraces offences punishable by law, but abuse consists of whatever scurrilities personal enemies choose to vent against one another, according to the malignity of their own nature. But I have always conceived our ancestors to have erected these halls of justice, not that you should assemble in them, leaving your private concerns, to hear what-

as the price, time of delivery, &c., in which the sculptor had failed, the simile would also fail. The Frenchman here omits the word on which the whole likeness turns, κομίζομενος, importing the acceptance of the statue, and compares Æschines only to one who had given an order and been disappointed.

* Most translators make the λογῷ and the πραγμασι apply to the same person. Francis takes credit for suggesting that λογῷ means, "by Æschines' account." This, though very agreeable to the sense, and more spirited perhaps than the other version, seems not allowable by the construction.

† ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀμαξῆς—with the allusion that follows to Æschines and his family, was quite enough to fix what cart Δ meant, without Francis's addition, "the original cart of your profession."

ever abominable things we could utter in abuse of each other, but that we might inquire of any offences committed against the state. Æschines, aware of this, full as well as I am, has rather chosen to make such an exhibition * than to prosecute an impeachment.

But even in this kind of conflict it is right that he should get as good as he brings; † I will therefore go on and ask, Whether any one would call you the country's enemy or mine, Æschines? Mine, beyond all question. Then, when by law you could have brought me to justice, for the good of the people, had I offended, you never proceeded against me, neither as a public accountant, nor as a public accuser, or on any other head of charge. But when I stand clear on all hands—by the laws—by lapse of time—by prescription,

* *πομπενειν*. Translators have, for the most part, rendered this as “pouring out invectives.” Wolff, “scurram agere.” Stock, “scommata effutire;” but it seems to be only exhibiting a theatrical display, the original meaning, and applies to the ἀμαξη—Leland “discharge his virulence.”

† *ἐλαττον εχων απελθειν*—go off with less—*scil.* than he brought—being precisely our vernacular expression. Francis renders it, “Go off in triumph, and escape the vengeance he has provoked:” Dawson only gives “to recriminate”—both leaving out the idiomatic terms. Leland here is bad—both diffuse and feeble—“escape without the due returns of severity on my part.”

by the judgment repeatedly pronounced heretofore upon all these matters—by my never once having been convicted before the people of any offence—and when more or less of glory has of necessity resulted to the country from my public conduct,* then it is that you make your stand! See if you are not in reality the country's enemy while you pretend to be only mine!

Having, then, made it clear to all what is the righteous and just vote to give, it seems incumbent upon me, however little given to invective my nature may be, in consequence of the slanders which he has vented,† not indeed like him to bring forward a multitude of falsehoods,‡ but to state what is most necessary to be

* The original only has it, that more or less glory accrued to the state from the public proceedings or conduct, *δημοσια, πεπραγμενων*; but it must mean, from Δ's measures.

† Wolff is the most close generally, and certainly at all times the most abstinent, of translators. It seems odd, then, that he should render *επημερας* "*coacervata*." The "*maledicta*" joined to it might prevent the literal version being given, but many words nearer than *coacervata* might surely have been found. On no other translator would this be deemed a fair remark; but we only note the departure from his general scheme.

‡ *αυτι* is plainly "instead of," and not as Leland gives it, "in answer to." His note on *επειδη τοις* is singular. He gives the words "Well, then," and supposes they plainly denote that some acclamations had arisen, of which Δ took advantage. But the connexion of the passage with

known respecting him, and to show what he is, and from what sort of race sprung, who is so prone to evil speaking, and who carps at some of my expressions, after himself saying such things as no decent person would have dared to utter.* For if Æacus, or Rhadamanthus, or Minos, were my accuser instead of this word-monger,† this

what goes before is plain and easy, and these words only mean, "After, then," or "Having, then."

* This is a fine question, or exclamation, in the original—"things which what moderate man is there that would have uttered?" We lose in the English the force of this, and of such noble words as *ωκνησε φθεγξασθαι*.

† *σπερμολογος*—Francis, "word-catcher;" but it is "seed-catcher," if it cannot be rendered, according to the sense rather than the etymology, "*word-spawner*." Dawson, "impertinent babbler." Leland's "babbling sycophant" is very absurd; for why add sycophant either in the Greek or English sense? In the latter it is indeed mere nonsense. Wolff, "*vilitigator*," perhaps meaning one who has a leprosy of words, if it be not a misprint for *vilitigator*, a dealer in chicane. Stock, "*blatero inanis*." The real meaning is confined to the diseased fluency, and "word-monger" is as near it as we can perhaps come. *περιτριμμα* is a thing worn down. Francis's "hackneyed pettifogger" is not bad. Dawson, "retailer of precedents." Leland joins it very incorrectly with the *ολεθρος γραμματευσ*, and makes the two phrases into one, "wretched, hackneyed scrivener;" the latter word applying to a money dealer and not to a scribe. Wolff, "*rabula forensis*." Stock, "*rabula detritus*." The celebrity of this passage makes it excusable to dwell so long on its exact meaning.

hack of the courts, this pestilent scribe, I don't much think they would thus have spoken, nor should we have heard them delivering themselves like ranting stage-players, "Oh, Earth! oh, Sun! oh, Virtue!" and so forth; and then invoking "intellect and education, whereby right and wrong are distinguished," as we just now heard him declaiming. Why, what had ever you or yours, you abomination,* to do with virtue? or what discrimination of right and wrong? Whence did you get it? or how attain anything so respectable? How should you be permitted to name the name of education, which they who are really well educated never allude to,—nay, blush if another so much as mentions it? But those who, like you, are without it, make pretences to it, from sheer want of sense, till they sicken their hearers while they speak, without at all making their own education appear.

But though I am in no want of matter to state concerning you and your family, I am in

* *καθαρμα*. Francis, "impurity." Dawson, "impudent wretch," which is wide of the mark. Leland, "Thou miscreant." Wolff, "*O sentina flagitiorum*." *μεροσυα* may also be rendered substantively, "What commerce with virtue," &c. Wolff so gives it. His version of what follows is extremely loose, especially for him. "*Quæve talium rerum dijudicatio? unde assecutus? qui eam dignitatem adeptus es?*"

some difficulty where to begin. Shall it be with your father Tromes being a slave loaded with fetters and billets, to Elpias, who kept a reading school at the temple of Theseus? Or shall it be with your mother,* who celebrated daily marriages in her lodging-house,† at the temple of Calamites, and brought up your fine figure of a consummate third-rate actor?‡ But everybody knows all this, though I were to pass it all over. Shall I start then from the time when the boat-piper Phormio, the slave of Dion, took her away from this choice occupation? But, by Jupiter and all the gods, I begin to fear lest, while I am saying what is quite applicable to you, I may appear to be speaking things not very becoming myself. I will pass by these matters, then, and will begin with what he has himself done. He is not such a man as you may meet every day, but one of those execrable to the people. For lately—lately, did I say?—ay, yesterday, and no longer ago, he became at once a citizen and

* Dawson, deeming the invective of Δ too gentle, makes the mother “venerable;” a piece of irony which, if it ever occurred to the Greek, he has thought proper to suppress.

† κλισίω, an eating or resting-house—a garret or cellar.

‡ ακρον τριταγωνιστην. Francis, “a first-rate actor of third-rate parts.” Dawson, καλον ανδριαντα, “pretty puppet.” The allusion to acting which follows seems to justify this, only that the word is a statue or figure.

an orator, and adding two syllables to his father's name, he changed it from Tromes to Atrometus; but duly honouring his mother, he called her Glaucothea, whom we all knew by the name of Empusa, an appellation drawn from her habits of performing and submitting to everything. Whence but from hence should it come? Yet so thankless at once and so unprincipled are you by nature, that, having by the favour of the Athenian people been raised from slavery to freedom, from poverty to riches, you show your gratitude for these benefits by hiring yourself out to pursue the course most ruinous to their interests.* I will pass over what is disputed, whether or not his words have been directed for the benefit of the country; but his deeds, manifestly done for the benefit of her enemies, these I must recall to your recollection.

Which of you is ignorant of Antiphon, struck off the citizens' list, and who came here, after having undertaken to Philip that he would fire your arsenal? When I seized him as he lay hid in the Piræus, and dragged him before the

* Wolff, by following the Greek so literally here, and rendering *τῶν τοῦτων* and *τοῦτων*, "*hosce*" and "*eis*," without more, would almost make it appear as if he thought the substantives referred to were the parents, instead of the people, to whom Δ plainly alludes. There *must* be some addition here to give the meaning.

assembly of the people, this defamer roared and vociferated against me that I was doing things monstrous in a popular government, trampling upon unfortunate citizens, invading their private houses, without the authority of any sentence, and thus he obtained the man's discharge; and had not the Areopagitic Council, hearing what he was about, and seeing you thrown off your guard at a critical moment, traced out the man, and brought him back in custody before you, the criminal would have escaped the punishment he justly deserved, and would have escaped through this specious declaimer.* But you put the culprit to the rack and to death, as you ought to have done his defender.

Wherefore the Areopagitic Council, observing what he had done, and that you had appointed him an advocate for the Temple at Delos, with the same improvidence which has made you so often neglect the public interests, when you appealed to them and made them umpires of the controversy, rejected him instantly as a traitor, and named Hyperides to speak in his place. This they did, giving them votes from the altar, while not a single one

* *σεμνολογον*. Wolff, "*speciosum oratorem*." Dawson, "pompous and deep-mouthed declaimer." Francis, "pompous declaimer." Leland, "Thanks to the pompous speaker."

was given for the wretch.* To prove the truth of my statement, call me the witnesses to these transactions.

WITNESSES.

These persons give evidence for Demosthenes in behalf of all the rest: Callias of Sunium, Zeno of Phlya, Cleon of Phalerum, Demonicus of Marathon, that when the People appointed Æschines to manage the cause of the Temple at Delos, before the Amphyctions, we, in assembly met, decided Hyperides to be the more worthy of speaking on behalf of the country, and Hyperides was sent accordingly.

Thus, when the Senate displaced him as he was about to plead the cause, and appointed another, they also pronounced him a traitor and enemy to the state. One great political measure of this hero you have here—similar, is it not, to those he blames of mine? Recall now another to your recollection. When Philip sent Python, the Byzantian, and joined with him ambassadors from all his allies, as if to put this country to shame, and make public her in-

* *μαρτυρ.* Why does this suddenly become in Francis' hands "unhallowed villain?" Leland and Dawson, "miscreant."

justice, I did not yield to Python's insolence or his invectives against you; nor did I draw back, but stood up against him and answered him; nor did I abandon the just rights of the country, but convicted Philip of injurious proceedings so manifestly, that his own allies rose up and confessed it. But Æschines took their part, bore witness against his country, and bore false witness. Nor did this satisfy him; for he was soon after detected going with Anaxinus, the spy, to the house of Thrason. But whosoever meets alone a spy sent by the enemy, and consults with him, he is himself in his own nature a spy on, and an enemy of, the country. To prove the truth of these statements, call me the witnesses to them.

WITNESSES.

Meledemus, the son of Cleon, Hyperides, the son of Callæschrus, Nichomachus, the son of Diophantus, depose for Demosthenes, having been sworn before the Strategi—that they saw Æschines, the son of Atrometus, of Cothocis, come by night to the house of Thrason, and consulting with Anaxinus, who was adjudged to be a spy sent by Philip. These depositions were made in the archonship of Nicias, on the 3d of Hecatombæon.

And now, although I have numberless other passages to relate respecting him, I pass them over ; for the matter stands thus—I am in possession of many proofs that he was in those times employed in serving the enemy and calumniating me. But neither have those things made any deep impression on your minds,* nor have they roused your indignation as they deserved. On the contrary, you have always given to any wretch that wished it, full licence to supplant† and to blacken those who proposed the measures most advantageous to you ; thus bartering against the public good the pleasure and gratification of hearing invective. Hence it is always easier and safer to receive the wages of the enemy's service, than to choose the line of policy prescribed by your interests.

And was it not monstrous,‡ just before the war with Philip began, for any man openly to assist him against their country ? Heaven and

* οὐ τιθεταί εἰς ἀκριβῆ μνημὴν—"have not committed to accurate memory." But it plainly means, "are not fond of recollecting," or "have not had any great impression made on your minds : " "have been indifferent."

† ὑποσκελίζει—"to trip up, by putting the foot or leg under." Francis and Leland, "supplant." Dawson, "undermine." Wolff, "supplantare."

‡ Francis chooses to translate δειρὸν here "impiety" and εὖτε αὐτῷ τούτῳ, "pardon him this impiety." Leland renders δειρὸν "shocking"

earth! how can any one deny it? Yet forgive him if you will—forgive him this. But after Philip had openly seized our ships, was ravaging the Chersonese, was marching upon Attica itself, surely matters were no longer in any uncertainty;* war had reached us.† Then what did this slanderer, this sneermonger‡ do for you? Not one decree of Æschines is there, be it greater, be it less, for promoting the interests of the state. If he pretends that there is any such, let him produce it, at the expense of my time and turn.§ But there exists nothing of the kind; and now one of two things follows—either that, finding nothing to blame in my measures upon that occasion, he had no others to propose||—or that, seeking to benefit the enemy, he did not

* ἀμφισβήτησις—equivocal or doubtful state.

† ἐνείστηκει. Leland and others make it “raged,” but adds “at our very gates;” and Wolff, “*arderet*.” It is “stood near or close upon us,” and means only that at length and beyond all doubt war had reached them.

‡ ἰαμβογράφος, altered by Taylor, and properly, ἰαμβοπαγος, the Iambic measure being appropriate to abuse, and Æschines never having, as far as we know, written any verses. Leland calls it “theatrical ranter.” Dawson, incorrectly, “satirical scribbler.” If it might be ἰαμβοφορος, it would be better.

§ Literally, “in my water”—that is, during Δ’s share of the water-houglass. The text seems to give the real turn of phrase; Wolff’s “*ad meam aquam*” is nonsense by being literal.

|| Wolff’s extremely literal version here, as in the last note, fails; “*non alia scripsisse*” is not sense.

propound measures better than mine. But said he nothing, propounded he nothing, where there was room for working you some mischief? Why, none but himself was then to be heard!*

And all the other things which he clandestinely did, the country might possibly have been able to bear; but one thing, men of Athens, he worked out besides,† which gave the finishing stroke to all the rest‡—one on which he bestowed a great part of his speech, dwelling upon the decrees of the Locrian Amphissians, and as if to pervert the truth.—But all will not do.§ How should it? Quite the reverse. Never will you be able to expiate that passage of your life, speak you ever so long! But here, in your presence,

* Dawson wholly wanders from the sense here. “And was it then only that he chose to forbear either speaking or writing, when he beheld you threatened with any impending danger? A fine time indeed to be silent, which afforded the fairest occasions for speaking!” This, beside being most unbearably paraphrastical, is really not near the meaning; it is the reverse of that meaning.

† *επιχειργασατο*—I am not at all sure that this extremely compound word is not used to signify an outdoing of former outdoings. The literal meaning, however, is given in the text. Leland omits the word, strangely enough.

‡ *ἅπασιν τοῖς προτέροις ἐθηκε τέλος*—literally, put the end to all the former. Francis “crowned and completed all the former.” Dawson, “crowned all the rest.” Leland, “crown all his former treasons.” Wolff, “fastigium imponeret.”

§ Literally “It is of that kind.” There may be some corruption in this very elliptical passage.

Athenians, I invoke all the heavenly powers which have the Attic regions under their protection, and the Pythian Apollo, the hereditary deity of this state, I supplicate them all, if I now am speaking the truth before you, if I constantly spoke out before the people when I perceived this infamous man attempting the wicked act (for I was aware of it, I was quickly aware of it), then that they would vouchsafe me their favour and protection;* but if, through personal enmity, or mere contentiousness of spirit, I falsely press this charge, may they bereave me of every earthly blessing!†

* *ευτυχίαν* is good fortune, or the goods of fortune, and *σωτηρίαν*, safety; but when prayed for from the dispensers of the former, and the only authors of the latter, may well and closely mean "favour and protection." Besides, if, with Leland and others, we render it "prosperity and safety," it is an anticlimax, and accordingly they are found to reverse the order, clearly admitting their version to be wrong.

† *ἀνονητον παντων των αγαθων*—may be distasteful to all the good. Leland, "blast my hopes of happiness." Wolff, "*ne ullius boni fructum capere patiantur.*" I have followed the uniform train of translation and commentary, although doubting if *αγαθα* has this meaning, or indeed *ἀνονητος*. The older editions, *ἀνοητον*—which Taylor corrected justly. Wolff's rendering *φιλονεικίαν* "*privatim simultatem*" is extraordinary; this not giving the meaning at all. The Frenchman's "*rivalité*" is much nearer the mark. Stock, "*contentionis studio*," is correct enough; but the best meaning is that given by the plain

Wherefore, then, am I thus vehement in my imprecations and asseverations? It is because, having the documents in the public records to prove what I assert beyond all dispute, and, perceiving that you remember the transactions in question, I only fear lest he should be supposed impotent to work such mischief, as happened once already, when he caused the destruction of the unhappy Phocians by the false intelligence he brought us. For the Amphissæan war, which brought Philip to Elatea, made him be chosen chief of the Amphyctionic league, and ruined all the affairs of Greece, he—Æschines*—it was that excited it; this one man was the cause of all our most heavy calamities; and when I, without delay, protested and cried out in the Assembly, “You are drawing down the Amphyctionic war upon Attica, Æschines,”—some who attended the meeting would not suffer me to speak, while others marvelled how I could, through private pique, bring so futile a charge against him. But what was the true

etymon—love of contention, or contentiousness of spirit. Leland, “personal animosity”—Dawson, “personal antipathy.”

* Literally, “on account of which Philip came,” &c. Æschines’ name must be introduced to avoid the ambiguity, Philip being the last antecedent. The composition here is very fine.

description of these transactions, in what they originated, and how they were accomplished, you are now to hear, Athenians, since you were at that time prevented from hearing it; for you will thus both perceive the nicety of the contrivance, and obtain much information upon the history of our affairs, and see how great was the dexterity * of Philip.

There was clearly no termination for him of the war with you, and no successful issue of that war, if he could not make the Thebans and Thessalians enemies of this country. But, although your commanders fought against him with bad fortune and no skill, he also sustained a thousand disasters from the war itself and from our privateers.† For, while none of the pro-

* *δεινότης*. That this means here "skill, address, dexterity," is clear. Stock, "*solertia*;" Wolff, "*calliditas*;" but why he should make of the last member of one sentence a new period altogether, and say, "*Quanta igitur fuit in Philippo calliditas, spectate*," is not easily perceived. But, though the meaning is certain, translators have, in rendering it, vied with each other in prolixity and paraphrase beyond all measure. Francis, "How great was Philip's dexterity and address." Dawson, "With what singular dexterity Philip managed matters in that critical juncture." Leland, "What deep designs the heart of Philip could conceive;" and all this from these words, *ὅση δεινότης ἦν ἐν τῷ Φιλίππῳ θεασασθε*.

† *ληστών*. Leland and the French translators make this to mean "the Athenian cruisers;" and Francis, "our pri-

duce of his territories could be exported, and nothing which he stood in need of could be imported, he neither had any superiority over you at sea, nor could reach Attica unless the Thes-salians followed his standard, or the Thebans gave him a passage. It was his lot, after over-coming the generals whom you sent against him, such as they were (of that I say nothing), to be in great difficulties from the nature of the country * and the relative situation of the par-ties. If, then, to further his own quarrel, he should urge either the Thessalians or the The-bans to attack you, he was aware that they would never listen to him ; but if, pretending to make common cause with them, he were chosen gene-ralissimo, he hoped easily to gain some of his

vateers." The word means "freebooter, pirate, robber." The word being put in contradistinction to *πολεμικόν* shows it could not be intended to express any military operation, so that, if any of the above translations be right, it must be Francis's. But Wolff, has "prædonibus," and so Stock and Dawson, "depredations of pirates." The following sentence shows that it was "piratical depredations," or those of privateers, who certainly combined the piratical vo-cation with their more justifiable operations against enemies.

* *φύσει του τοπου* can never be "the situation of this kingdom," as Leland has it. *ὑπαρχόντων ἑκατέρωθεν* seems to be as in the text ; though it might mean, "the supplies it (the country) furnished to each party ;" to which Stock has inclined. The word *ὑπαρχόντα* often answers to "cir-cumstances."

ends by fraud, others by persuasion. What, then, is his contrivance? See only how fine! To involve the Amphyctions in war, and their councils in tumult;* for in these circumstances he concluded that they must want his assistance. But if either his own deputies† to the council, or those of his allies, were to take the lead in the matter, he conceived that both the Thessalians and the Thebans would suspect the whole affair, and that all parties would be put on their guard. But if an Athenian did it, and one of yourselves, his adversaries, then he reckoned upon his scheme being easily concealed;‡ and so it turned out. § How, then,

* Wolff, "in Pylæa"—literal, to the destruction of the sense. Stock, "consessu Pylæa." The meaning is, "the Amphyctionic council held near Thermopylæ."

† *ιερομνημονες*—presidents over sacrifices; a sort of prefect in *sacris*. Francis and Leland "deputies." The Greek is, "Priests whom he had sent." Wolff, "Assessors."

‡ This elliptical passage is a good example of the difficulty of reading Δ, even when his words are, as they generally are, very easy Greek taken singly. They are all so full of meaning and so few in number, that each is absolutely necessary to the sense; and they are so connected with the preceding sentences, that they cannot be understood if taken apart: *ἀν δὲ Ἀθηναῖος ἥ καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν ἐναντιῶν ὁ τοῦτο ποιῶν, εὐπορῶς λησεῖν.*

§ Leland's prolixity and looseness in this whole passage are quite intolerable—*ὅπερ συνεβη*, "Thus he reasoned, and

did he effect his purpose? He hired this man; and, no one foreseeing what was to happen, as I imagine, nor taking any precaution (as generally happens with you), he was named Amphyctionic deputy, and chosen, three or four electors only voting. But as soon as he was armed with the authority of the state, he proceeded to the Amphyctionic council, and, throwing aside and neglecting all other business, despatched that for which he had been hired. Putting together and repeating over a string of fair phrases and old stories, about the purpose for which the Cirrhæan territory was originally consecrated, he persuades the priests, men unused to rhetoric and not aware of what was coming to pass, that they should resolve to walk the boundaries of the district which the Amphisssæans maintained they cultivated as their own, but which

thus was the event." He then inserts these other words, without a shadow of authority in the Greek. "Here stands the man who seized the advantage of" (your inattention). Really if Δ was so meagre an orator, had so little power of bringing out his meaning, and knew so ill how to make an impression, that his translators are forced to help him out of their own stores, we should transfer to them the admiration which five-and-twenty centuries have appropriated to the great master of eloquence. Dawson too must make his contribution to the needy Greek, who says only "*μισθούται τούτου;*" but the translator will have it "bribing this my worthy accuser."

he contended was parcel of the sacred territory, while the Locrians neither instituted any suit against us nor advanced any of those pretensions now falsely urged by him. Thus you will perceive from hence that it was not competent for the Locrians to prosecute a suit against the country without a previous citation. But who ever cited you? In what year? * Name me the man who knows anything of it; point him out! You cannot, Æschines—but you abused us by this futile and false pretence.

When, therefore, the Amphyctions were surveying the territory, according to his suggestions, the Locrians fell upon them, and had well nigh put them all to the sword; † they also

* *ἐπιποιας αρχης*, “in what archonship,” literally. But Leland has it, quite gratuitously, “Produce the record of this citation.” As if citations were entered of record in Athens. This portion of his translation is more loose and paraphrastical than any other, and often very incorrect.

† *κατακοντιζω* is to spear, though the spear may be thrown. Francis makes the Locrians bowmen, for he says, “arrows.” Wolff, “*jaculis conficiunt*.” Dawson is here intolerable; “poured such a shower of arrows upon them that they had nearly entirely destroyed them;” and this is the way to translate the most terse and concise of all orators, when he only has said “*μικρον μεν απαντας κατακοντιζαν*”—“well nigh speared them all.” Leland is not much more chaste—“were assaulted with a violence which had well nigh proved fatal to them all.” The violence is

captured some of the priest deputies. But, as soon as remonstrances and hostilities with the Amphisstæans arose from these proceedings, Cottyphus at first was put at the head of Amphyc-tionic troops only; as, however, some of the contingents never came, and those which came did nothing, the men suborned for the work, the old traitors of Thessaly and other states, forthwith were all busied in obtaining the chief command for Philip at the next assembly; and for this they found specious enough pretexts; for they said that it was necessary either to contribute towards the maintenance of foreign troops and fine those who refused, or to choose him generalissimo. Needs there more be said? By such arts he was chosen to the command; and, straightway collecting an army, and advancing as if upon Cirrhæa, he bade the Cirrhæans and Locrians a long farewell, and fell upon Elatea. If, therefore, the Thebans had not, instantly upon seeing this, changed their councils and sided with you, the whole war* would have fallen upon this country like a

best shown by the thing done, and "putting to the sword," with "fell upon," the literal as well as idiomatic version of *προσπεσόντες*, expresses the violence as well as extent of the onslaught.

* *πράγμα* must here be rendered "invasion," or "war," to give the sense.

winter torrent.* But, as it was, they for the moment stayed his course; chiefly, Men of Athens, through the favour of Heaven towards you; but, as far as under Providence † it might depend on one man, it was done through me. But give me the documents and the dates of these several transactions, that you may see

* ὡπερ χειμαρρῶνς—Francis, “This whole project, like a winter’s torrent, had precipitately fallen on the Republic.” Dawson, “The whole fury of the war must have been like a mighty torrent poured upon this Commonwealth.” Leland, “Fallen like a thunder-storm” (a thunder-storm being rather a summer than a winter phenomenon—and χειμαρρῶνς being plainly a torrent, not a storm). Wolff, “tanquam torrens, universa belli moles,” &c. The meaning is, that the whole force or momentum of the movement would have been near Athens. This passage is of great beauty and picturesque effect: the diction is admirable; and some critics have observed that there is an onomatopœia, the sound imitating the discordant rushing of a broken torrent. Turreil, by far the best of the French translators, is of this opinion, and adds, that this beauty cannot be transferred into the French. Not so deems M. Planche, who flatters himself “avoir rendu à-peu-près l’harmonie du Grec.” There is no disputing upon a man’s sense of distance; but let the reader judge, the following being the approximation to Δ. “Soit que l’effort de la guerre serait venu fondre sur Athènes avec la rapidité d’un torrent.” Certainly, if the accumulation of words were all that was wanting, our Frenchman has beaten the Greek in the proportion of nine to four. For the rest, the translation is closer here and better than usual.

† *Era* clearly here has this sense.

what troubles that vile head excited, and yet goes unpunished. Read me the document.

DECREE OF THE AMPHYCTIONS.

In the pontificate of Clinagoras, at the Spring Council—It hath pleased the Deputies and Assessors of the Amphyctions and the Assembly thereof, seeing that the Amphissæans did enter upon the sacred territory and sow it and depasture it with their cattle, that the Deputies and the Assessors do repair thither and mark the boundaries with pillars, and warn the Amphissæans not to trespass thereon for the future.

SECOND DECREE.

In the pontificate of Clinagoras, at the Spring Council—Seeing that the People of Amphissa, having partitioned among themselves the sacred territory, do till the same, and depasture it with their cattle, and, when prohibited from so doing, did come with arms and resist by force the general Council of the Greek States, and did even wound sundry persons, among others Cottyphus the Arcadian, appointed Commander of the Amphyctions ; it hath therefore pleased the Deputies and the Assessors of the said Amphyctions, and the Assembly thereof, that an

embassy be sent to Philip of Macedon, requiring him to succour Apollo and the Amphyctions, and not suffer this contempt of the God by the sacrilegious Amphissæans; and, to this end, that the Greek states attending the Amphyctionic meeting do elect him Generalissimo and Dictator.

But read, also, the dates of these transactions; for they are the dates of this Æschines's attending as deputy.

DATES.

In the archonship of Mnesithides, the 16th day of Anthesterion.

Now give me the letter which, when the Thebans turned a deaf ear to him, Philip sent to his allies in Peloponnesus, that you may clearly see, even from this, how he concealed the true object of his proceedings, and of what he was planning against Greece and Thebes and you, and how he pretended all the while to be only executing the Decrees of the Amphyctionic Council. But he who furnished him with these opportunities and those pretexts—Æschines was the man. Read.

LETTER OF PHILIP.

Philip, King of the Macedonians, to the Magistrates and the Assessors of the Peloponnesus, comprehended in the Confederacy, and to all our other Allies greeting: Whereas the Locrians, who are called Ozolans, and inhabit Amphissa, have profaned the temple of Apollo at Delphos, and, entering the sacred territory with an armed force, are laying it waste; we are minded to aid you in succouring the god, and to take vengeance on those who violate whatever is held sacred among men. Wherefore see you meet us in Phocis, armed and having forty days' provisions, this month of Lōos, as we call it, Boedromion as the Athenians, Panemus as the Corinthians have it. Of such as meet us with all their forces we will take council; of such as hold back, vengeance.—Farewell.

Do you see how he flies off from his own pretences, and takes refuge in the Amphyctions? Who, then, was his helpmate in all this? Who furnished those pretexts? * Who was the main cause of the mischief that ensued? Was it not this Æschines? Do not then, Athe-

* *τις ὁ τὰς προφασίς ἐνέους.* All translators render this supplied, or furnished. Possibly, however, it may be "suggested," from the force of *εν*.

nians, go about * saying that Greece has suffered so much from a single man. Not from one, but from many abandoned men, in every one of her states, by Heaven and Earth! Of these certainly he is one; and, if I must speak the plain truth, I should not hesitate to call him the common pest of all that have since perished, men, districts, cities. For he that furnishes the seed of mischief, he it is that also causes the crop which springs up;† whom I marvel at your not turning instantly away from as soon as you beheld him. But a thick darkness ‡

* *περιοντες*. Francis, "Do not, as you walk and converse together, ascribe," &c. Dawson, "Don't, as you are walking together." Wolff, "Ne igitur passim dicatis." Stock, "Nolite inter deambulandum," &c. It is singular how the pure, and also the literal idiom, is lost in all these versions—"Do not go about saying." Leland is here as prolix and loose as possible, and omits wholly the *περιοντες*. "Yet, mistake me not" (a pure invention), "when our public calamities are the subject of your conversation, say not," &c.

† It is not *φυντων*, but *φυντων κακων*; and Stock and Wolff, "Enatæ segetis malorum." Leland, "whole harvest of mischief." Dawson, "The sower of the seed is the father of the harvest," which is certainly happily enough rendered. All these persons suppose the meaning to be a crop of evils; but it may be, weeds, bad growth; the Latin and Greek, like the French, having no word for weeds.

‡ *πολυ τι σκοτος*—some thick darkness. Francis "thick and impenetrable darkness." Dawson will have a double

would seem to be thrown between the truth and you.

It has thus come to pass that, in touching upon the things which he did against the interests of the country, I have arrived at the part of my own conduct which he opposed ; and this you will of course listen to for many reasons, but chiefly, Athenians, because it would be scandalous if, I having borne the labour of my actions in your service, you should refuse to undergo that of hearing my words in relating them.

When I saw the Thebans, and almost saw yourselves, so led away by Philip's partisans and bribed agents in the two countries, that both of you were overlooking and taking no one precaution against your real danger, which demanded all your care, the allowing Philip's aggrandisement, while you were quite ready for mutual enmity and collision, I assiduously endeavoured to prevent this, conceiving such a course beneficial, not only upon my own judgment, but aware that Aristophon, and afterwards paraphrase, " Clouds of impervious darkness have intercepted the light rays of truth from your eyes." But Δ only says, " some thick darkness is come between you and the truth." Wolff, "*magnæ tenebræ apud vos objectæ sunt veritati.*" Leland, " thick cloud in which the truth lay concealed ;" which is both an additional metaphor, and an inaccurate one.

Eubulus, were desirous of promoting this good understanding, men who, differing from one another repeatedly upon other subjects, upon this were at all times agreed; men whom you, crafty creature,* persecuted† with your flattery when living, but when dead are not ashamed to run down. For, in your attacks upon my Theban policy, you are accusing them far more than me, they having approved of that alliance long before I did. But I come back to the period when, by Æschines causing the Amphissæan war, and his accomplices exciting ill-will towards the Thebans, Philip's attack upon this country was brought about, which indeed was the object of these men in bringing the two states into collision; and, had we not roused ‡

* *κινᾶδος*, fox. Wolff, vulpecula. Stock, bellua. This of Stock loses the appropriate meaning of cunning implied in the Greek, and required by the conduct described. Francis, "vile animal." Dawson, "with your usual dissimulation." Leland makes a new sentence of the word, and not at all a happy one. "Yes! thou scoundrel to humanity."

† The true meaning of the Greek *παρηκολουθεῖς*, following close—keeping up with—is lost by all the English translators except Leland. Wolff has it well "sectabaris."

‡ The Greek is a fine compound word; *προεξανισταμῖν* is to rise up, or start up, before another, or before an event, i. e., before it is too late. This meaning is poorly compensated by substituting for it gratuitously "a lethargy," as Francis has done. "Roused us from our lethargy," or

ourselves, just before it was too late, we should never have been able to recover ourselves—to such a state had these men reduced our affairs. But what the dispositions of the powers were towards each other in that crisis, you shall see from the Decrees and the Correspondence. Produce these, then, and read them.

DECREE.

In the archonship of Heropythus, the 26th of Elaphobolion, and the presidency of the Erechthean tribe, by the advice of the Senate and the Strategi. Whereas Philip hath occupied certain of the neighbouring states, and is now laying waste some of them, and finally is preparing to invade Attica, accounting for nothing the treaties between us subsisting, and resolved

even “seasonably,” as Dawson has it. Leland only has “suddenly awakened;” but adds, “to a vigorous exertion of our powers;” and then for *οὐδ’ ἀναλαβεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀνῆλθοντο*, “the danger must have overwhelmed us”—which is possibly the effect of what Δ says, but not the thing itself, the sense of *ἀναλαβεῖν* being, to recover when just going to fall. Wolff, as usual, is correct: “nisi paullo antè evigilassemus.” It is singular that the *μικρον* should not have called the attention of the others to the true meaning of the phrase; but they leave it out by common consent. In one particular Wolff is wrong like the rest; he makes Δ say “awakened,” when he only says, “started up.” The sleep they have all made him a free gift of.

to violate at once his oaths and the peace, in breach of the faith mutually pledged; it hath pleased the Senate and People to despatch a herald and ambassadors to him, who may deal with him and exhort him more especially that he maintain the relations of amity and the treaties subsisting betwixt us; or, if not, that time be given this country to deliberate, and a truce made until the month of Thargelion. Simus, of Anagyra; Euthydemus, of Phlya; Bulagoras, of Alopecia, are chosen from the Senate.

SECOND DECREE.

In the archonship of Heropythus, the last day of Munychion, by the advice of the Polymarchus: Whereas Philip is doing his endeavour to place the Thebans at variance with us, and is preparing with all his forces to march on those places which lie nearest to Attica,* in violation of the treaties subsisting between us; it hath pleased the Senate and People that there be sent to him a herald and ambassadors who may urge and call upon him to conclude a truce, in order that the Commonwealth may have time conveniently to deliberate, seeing that it hath not seemed expedient to provide merely ordinary means of defence.† Of the

* To wit, Bœotia.

† The clause thus rendered is obscure, and possibly was

Senate were appointed ambassadors, Nearchus, son of Sozinomus ; Polycrates, son of Epiphron. Of the people was named herald Eunomus, of Anaphlystus.

intended to convey an obscure hint or threat, without irrevocably committing the state. *Kai γαρ νῦν οὐ κερρίκε βοηθεῖν ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν μετρίων.* Wolff seems to seize the spirit of it in saying, "Nunc enim eum (populum) non instituisse opem ferre in ullâ re moderatâ." Leland and Dawson very paraphrastically have a similar though less obscure meaning ; but Stock takes the opposite of this sense, and has it, "Non censuit vel mediocre quidem auxilium ferre se oportere." There seems certainly some doubt of the meaning, for both constructions suit the context, and the words are susceptible of both. This passage has created much embarrassment to commentators. Taylor holds it incapable of sense ; after citing four several translations, he says "attamen deploratus valde est textus," and adds that it admits of none of the versions given. Wolff, after asking who is meant, whether Philip or the Athenians, and what the words *ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν μετρίων* can mean, suggests, as a mere query, whether it may not be, "if Philip behaves moderately, the Athenians will not oppose him ;" and then cites three translations, all different from those quoted by Taylor. He observes too, somewhat archly, on the comfortable lot of Aretinus, who had to deal with a MS. which omitted all the documents, "Aretinus magnum fructum cepit sine codicibus," &c. Reiske (ii. 511) gives, at much length, a commentary which corresponds to Wolff's suggestion, the opposition to Philip being in fact sending aid to the Thebans. Reiske and Schäfer adopt Wolff's suggestion, which perhaps, after all, is the sound one, if the text is sound.

Now read the Answers also.

ANSWER TO THE ATHENIANS.

Philip, King of Macedon, to the Senate and the People of Athens greeting: Of the dispositions which ye have from the first had towards us I am nowise ignorant, nor of what pains you take in the design of drawing over to your side the Thessalians and Thebans, and the Boeotians also. But when these are found to judge more wisely, and to decline casting their lot with yours,* consulting their own interests, then you change your course, send to me ambassadors and a herald, remind me of treaties, and ask for a truce, you having been in no one thing injured by us. Nevertheless, having heard your ambassadors, I accede to your request, and am ready to make the truce, provided you will send away those who give you evil council, and mark them with the disgrace which they deserve.—Farewell.†

* It is strange that Wolff, so abstemious of paraphrase, and still more of additions, should have intruded "*vobisque subjicere*," &c.; Δ having only said, εφ' ὑμῶν ποιησασθαι αἰτεσθαι. Stock makes the meaning the same, but without any clause added—"vobis submittere judicia sua." The text seems to give the influence which Athens would have in the event of the Thessalians, &c., joining her.

† This great man's superiority is manifest here as usual.

ANSWER TO THE THEBANS.

Philip, King of Macedon, to the Senate and People of Thebes, greeting: I have received your letter, in which you desire to renew our amity and peace. Yet I hear that the Athenians are striving with all their might to make you assent to their requests. At first I accused you of being led away by the prospects which they held out for the future to follow their party. But now that I find you rather seeking to live at peace with us yourselves than to follow the councils of others, I rejoice thereat, and willingly commend you on many accounts, but more especially for pursuing the safer councils, and keeping in amity with us, which will, I hope, be of no small moment to you, if you shall persevere in the same resolution.—Farewell !

Having thus set the different states at variance with each other, by the agency of these men, Philip, elated with those decrees and those

He first, in plain, elegant, and choice, but dignified and cutting language, exposes the conduct of the Athenians ; and then yields as if to their submissive prayers, as he was probably advised by his party at Athens, for his and their interest, in order to strengthen their hands, and inflict a blow on their adversaries.

answers, advanced with his army, and occupied Elatea, as if assured that, come what come might,* you and the Thebans never would agree. The consternation into which the city† was instantly thrown, you all know; but it may be as well you should hear the most important particulars. It was evening.‡ A messenger came to acquaint the Prytanes that Elatea was taken; whereupon some of them, instantly starting§ from the table at which they were sit-

* This seems the true sense of a very disputed passage, and agrees in the main with Toureil, and Wolff, and Stock. See, however, Reiske, *Ap. Crit.* i. 273.

† City is here used for *πολις*, instead of country, because the striking narrative that follows (and few historical pieces can bear a comparison with it for picturesque effect) relates to the streets of Athens itself. This passage is lavishly but not excessively praised by all the great critics—Longinus, and the Halicarnassian especially.

‡ *ἐσπερα μὲν γὰρ ἦν*. The *γὰρ* here clearly illustrates the use of that as sometimes being a connecting particle, and not indicating reasoning any more than *μὲν* or *δέ* necessarily do. The sentence, however, is a fine introduction of this noble narrative.

§ *ἐξαισταςαντες διπνοντες*. Francis, "Rising from supper." Dawson, "Great numbers of people at their suppers arising," &c., "drove away the brokers." Δ having said nothing of brokers, but only "those in the booths." Longinus expressly praises this passage for the omission of superfluous particulars; and Δ, to show the sudden rising, inserts *διπνοντες*. Surely rising from table is enough for this purpose. The use of the same word here applied to *board*, which all the translators had before applied to *bed*, might have warned them of their error.

ting, cleared the booths in the Forum, and set fire to their wicker coverings; others summoned the Generals of the State, and ordered the alarm to be sounded. The city was filled with consternation. When the next day broke, the Prytanes convoked the Senate in the Senate House: you repaired to your own assembly; and before they could adopt any measure, or even enter upon their deliberations, the whole people had seated themselves upon the hill.* And now, when the Senators came forth, and the Prytanes announced the intelligence, and presented the bearer of it, and he had himself related it, the herald made proclamation, If any one desired to be heard? No man stood forward. He repeated the proclamation again and again. No person rose the more, though all the Generals and all the Orators were present,

* *ανω καθηρω*. Francis attacks Turreil for "the pretty bold addition" of "*selon l'usage de la place*," and yet he himself says, "in their usual court," and says nothing of *ανω*, the difficulty of the passage. Wolff has only "*jam consederat*." Stock, "*sursum*," which is not intelligible without more. Leland, "taken their places above." Dawson, "in the gallery." Hederic gives "*in loco*" for one meaning of *ανω*, but without authority. It may mean "on the steps;" or it may refer to the structure of the place; the people sitting above. The meaning, however, rather seems to be aloft, i. e., on the hill "*Phyx*," where the assemblies were held, which is here accordingly adopted, on Dr. Arnold's suggestion.

and though the cries of our common country were heard, imploring some one to lift his voice and save her. For* the voice of the herald, in the solemn form ordained by law, may well be deemed the general voice of the country. And truly, if the only qualification to come forward then had been an anxiety for the public safety, all of you, and every other Athenian too, would have risen and ascended the Bema;† for I am well aware that all were anxious to save the

* Would not one more practised in handling figures than Δ confessedly was, have avoided the feebleness of this explanatory passage, after the noble metaphor that precedes, by making the country “call out with the voice of the herald?”—which had rendered all explanation or defence of the figure unnecessary.

† Rostrum is neither Greek nor English, nor is it indeed the Latin word either; and, as we happily have no oratorical engine of the kind, it can hardly be naturalized as a word with us. It seems well to use βῆμα itself then. When we have called this an engine of oratory, ῥητορικόν, ought we not rather to prefix the α privativum? It is true Δ spoke from this height, so fatal to all modern eloquence; but see the French Chambers, and say if, in the country of Dupin, and Berryer, and Thiers, there wants more than an axe laid to the root of the Tribune to complete the triumph of eloquence in France, unless, indeed, it be to throw the book of inscription into the same fire that consumes the Tribune? My learned friend, Mr. Morritt, informs me that the term Bema is used by antiquaries to denote the raised part of the floor in cathedrals, in front of the altar; and it is possible that in Athens the βῆμα may only have been such an elevation, and not a pulpit, as at Rome formerly, and Paris.

State. If wealth had been the qualification, we might have had the three hundred ; if both wealth and patriotism,* those who, in the sequel, became such ample voluntary contributors. But that was, manifestly, the crisis,—that the day not merely for a wealthy and patriotic individual to bear apart, but for one who had, from the very first, kept pace with the progress of affairs, and happily penetrated the motives of the conduct and the designs of Philip. For a man unacquainted with these,—one who had not anxiously watched them from their first appearance,—might be ever so rich and ever so zealous, and yet be none the more likely to deserv the best course, and to give you the soundest counsel. In that day, then, such a man was I,—and, standing up, I spoke to you, what you must once more attentively listen to, with two views : first, that you may perceive how, alone, of all the Orators and Statesmen, I did not abandon the post of Patriotism in the hour of peril, but, both by my words and my actions, discharged my duty to you in the last emergency ;—next, that, at the expense of a little time, you may acquire a fuller insight into our whole polity for the future.†

* The union of these making munificence, that word would have sufficed had not Δ given ἀμφοτετρα ταυτα, and then specified both εὐρονς and πλουσιος.

† This speech is strikingly different in diction and far

I conceived, then (I said), that those who were in so great a consternation at the idea of the Thebans being friendly to Philip, were unacquainted with the real state of affairs ; for I knew full well that, were this apprehension well founded, we should not now hear of him being in Elatea, but upon our own frontiers ; I knew for certain, however, that he was come to get matters in Thebes ready for him. But how the case stands, said I, hear now from me. All those Thebans, whom he has been able either to bribe by gold or delude by craft, he has at his command ; but those who, from the first, have resisted him, and are now opposing him, he can in no way move. What, then, does he now meditate, and with what view has he seized on Elatea ? It is that, displaying his forces in our neighbourhood, and marching up his troops, he may at once elevate and inspirit his friends, and strike terror into his adversaries, and that they, being overawed, may be induced, or may be compelled, to make concessions which they now refuse. If then, I said, we are, in these circumstances, resolved to bear in mind whatever wrongs the Thebans may have done us aforetime, and to distrust them as

easier than Δ 's ordinary style. Did this happen through accident, or did he use a plainer language purposely, at that crisis, with the Athenians ?

taking part with our enemies, we shall, in the first place, be doing the very thing that Philip is praying for, and next, I fear me lest they who now are his adversaries may join him, and, all Philippizing after the same fashion, both Thebans and Philip may invade Attica. But if you will be advised by me, and consider well what I am about to state instead of quarrelling with it, then it may come to pass, I conceive, both that you should approve of my councils, and that I should dispel the dangers which surround the country. What, then, do I recommend? First of all, to dissipate the prevailing alarm; then to change its direction, and all be alarmed about the Thebans, for they are far nearer a catastrophe than we, and the peril is much closer upon them than upon us; and then, that the young men* and the cavalry marching upon Eleusis should prove to all Greece that you are in arms, and that your partisans at Thebes may have an equal power to maintain their cause when they find you are as ready and as willing to succour the asserters of liberty, if attacked, as Philip was to aid with his forces in Elatea those who were selling their country to him. Next, I require that ten Ambassadors be chosen by vote, and that they, with

* Citizens of military age. The *ἰππικὴ*, too, were properly an order like the Roman equites.

the Commanders, have authority to determine the time both of their arrival and of their setting out. But when the Ambassadors come to Thebes, how do I recommend that they should conduct the affair? Give me now your whole attention. Require nothing of the Thebans (for at this time it would be shameful), but promise whatever succour they demand, they being in the most extreme danger, and we better able than they to foresee the result; so that, if they agree with us and take our advice, we shall both carry our point and act upon a plan worthy of the state; but if we should happen to fail in this object, then they will have themselves to blame for their errors, and by us nothing base, nothing unworthy, will have been done.

Having said thus much, and more to the like effect, I sat down. All assenting, no one saying one word to the contrary, not only did I make this speech, but I propounded a decree; not only did I propound a decree, but I went ambassador; not only went I ambassador, but I persuaded the Thebans; and from the first, throughout the whole transaction, down to the end, I persevered, and gave myself up, in your service, without any reserve, to confront the perils that surrounded the country.*

* The exquisite diction of this justly-celebrated passage is

Bring me now the Decree made at the time.
But would you, Æschines, have me show

altogether inimitable in our language. The *μεν* and *καί*, the *οὐκ* and *οὐδέ*, are wholly Greek, and wholly untranslatable. We might come nearer the original indeed than is done with "not only," and "but," by using a double negative: thus, "I did not make a speech, and not make a motion; nor make a motion, and not go ambassador; nor go ambassador, and not persuade the Thebans;" but the double negative is always more or less repugnant to our idiom. Possibly this turn may reconcile it:—"I was not the man to make a speech, and not carry a decree; nor to carry a decree, and not go ambassador; nor to go ambassador, and not convince the Theban people." If the sense be rendered by "without," we are no nearer the original than by the course taken in the text. Thus, "I did not make a speech without making a motion; nor did I." &c. However, the admitted difficulty, or rather impossibility, of approaching near the Greek, is no reason for Francis and Dawson keeping at so great and unnecessary a distance from it. Francis, neglecting the technical meaning of *εὑραψα*—"propose, or even carry, a decree," makes *εἰπον* "give advice in words," *εὑραψα*, "propose it in writing;" which, in Athens, where so few could read, would have been an anticlimax. Dawson says, "formally proposed in writing." Wolff, for the sake of being literal, "*scriberem*" Leland is right,—"*proposing a decree in form*;" and he uses the turn of "*without proposing*," &c. But "*peccat ad extremum*." "From first to last my conduct was uniform, my perseverance invariable, my whole powers entirely devoted to repel the dangers then encompassing the State." This is not so near as the paraphrase of Francis and Dawson, and not half so concise or so spirited. "I began, I continued, I perfected the work, and for your service," &c., to which there is but

what description we are to give of you on that day, and what of myself? Would you have

this objection, that it is not the figure of Δ . Wolff has, in a manner very unusual with him, introduced a new idea wholly unwarranted by the Greek. He connects each member of the climax with the succeeding one: thus, "non hæc *ita* dixi *ut* non scriberem; neque *ita* scripsi *ut* legationem non obirem," &c. There is no advantage whatever in this towards bringing out the meaning; and it is quite a departure from the text. Francis renders $\sigmaυνεταλινεσαντων$ "applauded;" but if all applauded, what follows, "no one objecting," would be an anticlimax. Leland is equally wrong. The word, too, means to assent as well as applaud.

Cicero (pro Mil.) closely imitates this famous passage. "Neque vero se populo solum sed etiam senatui commisit; neque senatui modo, sed etiam publicis præsidiiis et armis; neque iis tantum verum etiam ejus potestati cui Senatus totam rempublicam, omnem Italiæ pacem, cuncta populi Romani arma commiserat." What follows is finer still, and very argumentative. It is pretty obvious from this that, in his translation of the great orator, unfortunately lost, Cicero had adopted the method employed in the text for rendering the double negative—namely, "not only"—"but." We may remark, in passing, that there is none of Cicero's orations in which he comes so near Δ as this magnificent one, pro Mil; none in which he reasons so closely, or is so entirely occupied with the subject. Cicero, in the *Rhet. (ad Herenn.)*, lib. iv. cap. 25, dwells on the figure, and gives examples, but makes no reference to this most celebrated one in Δ . Quintilian does, and gives a translation. "Nec hæc dixi quidem, sed nec scripsi; nec scripsi quidem, sed nec obii legationem; nec obii quidem, sed nec persuasi Thebanis." a version in which the

me describe myself as the Batalus which you, in contempt and contumely, call me—you as a hero, nor of the common sort, but one of those whom we see on the stage, Cresphontes, or Creon, or Œnomaus, him whose part you, wretch, mangled at Colyttus by your vile acting? * Well, then, in that crisis, I, the Batalus of Pæania, showed myself a more useful citizen of the State than you, the Œnomaus of Cothocis. You, indeed, never were of any service in any manner of way, while I did all that was incumbent upon a patriot. Read the Decree.

DECREE OF DEMOSTHENES.†

In the archonship of Nausicles, and the presidency of the Ajax tribe, and on the 16th of Scisense is lost by the attempt to be literal, as in *scripsi* and *obii quidem*.

* *κακος κακως υποκρινομενος επιτριψας*. This is fine; the last word is “wearing down”—“tearing to tatters”—“mangling, murdering the part.” Francis, “whom you tragically murdered in one of our villages by your representation.” Why not at Colyttus? and why is the man and not the part to be murdered? Leland wholly mistakes the sense of *επιτριψας*, making it to be that Æschines was punished by “heavy stripes for his vile performance.”

† The style of this piece is full of dignity, and the diction perfectly simple as well as chaste, with the solemnity of a state paper, but not the wordiness or technicality. To attempt a translation of it, after the admirable one of Mr.

rophorion, upon the proposition of Demosthenes, the son of Demosthenes of Pæania: Forasmuch as it is manifest, that Philip King of Macedon hath aforetime broken the treaties of peace by him made with the People of Athens, in contempt of his oaths and of all that is by all the Greeks held most sacred,* and hath seized upon towns in no way belonging to him, and some indeed belonging to the Athenians he hath captured, albeit he had from the People of Athens received no kind of injury; and forasmuch as he is at this present time waxing greater both in force and in cruelty, for some of the Greek towns he garrisons with his troops, overthrowing their constitutions; others he razes to the ground, selling their inhabitants as slaves;† in

Justice Williams (Edinburgh Review, vol. xxxvi. p. 489), is a hard task. Leland's version is not bad in general, though he every here and there intrudes new matter, as if Δ's were not forcible enough; and in several places omits the true sense, as where he renders *εὐξαμένους καὶ θυσαντας*, "with due veneration," and "imploring aid," whereas it is praying and sacrificing.

* *δίκαια εἶναι*—literally, rightful or just—but the text gives our established and almost technical phrase.

† *ἐξανδραποδίζομενος κατασκαπτει*. There are no finer nor any more comprehensive words in any tongue. Literally, "dug up the very walls after carrying away the inhabitants into slavery." All this is expressed; for *εἶ* shows the carrying off, *ἀνδραποδίζω* being to make slaves of the men, and *κατασκαπτω* is to dig under or into the earth, to sub-

some he replaces the Greeks with Barbarians, letting them loose upon the temples and the tombs, in no one particular acting otherwise than might be expected from his country and his character, and abusing the fortune which, for the moment, he enjoys, nor mindful how, from an inconsiderable and very ordinary person,* he hath risen to his present greatness, past all hope--and although, while the People of Athens only saw him seizing upon Barbarian and unappropriated† towns, they might con-

vert by digging under. Francis only has "enslaving" for the former word, though he well renders the latter by "razing to the foundations." Dawson—"treating the inhabitants as vassals and slaves," a feeble tautology, and also an omission of the meaning in part. Leland—enslaving—and razing their walls, neither being accurate. Wolff, *Exscindit, et sub coronâ vendit.*

* The original is fine to express contempt—*μικρον και τον τυχοιραν*, a small and ordinary man—a small, a Mr. Anybody-kind-of-man. Wolff, "*parvo et quolibet.*" Francis, "inconsiderable and obscure." Dawson, same. Leland, "mean origin."

† *βαρβαρικαι και ιδιας*. The Frenchman (and Stock agrees apparently) mistakes this apparently, rendering it as if the towns were Barbarian and dependent on Athens, and that therefore the Athenians did not mind an injury only affecting themselves—a magnanimity never affected at Athens. But the "Barbarian" and "dependent" is of itself an answer to this. Leland, "detached from Greece." Francis and Dawson agree. Dawson, "governed by their own particular laws." Wolff's "*privata*" is hardly sense,

sider no great wrong was done them, yet, when they now perceive the Greek cities themselves, some insulted, some destroyed, they deem it monstrous and utterly unworthy of the glory of their ancestors to stand by and witness the slavery of Greece—Now, therefore, it hath pleased the Senate and People of Athens, after supplicating and propitiating the gods and heroes who guard the city and the Athenian territories, and calling to mind the virtues of their forefathers, who ever set more value on the protection of Grecian liberty than on the defence of their own country, to launch two hundred galleys, and that the Admiral cruise within the Straits of Thermopylæ; that the General and the Commander of the cavalry march the horse and foot to Eleusis, and that Ambassadors be sent to the other Greek states, but first of all to Thebes, Philip being nearest to that country, with the view of calling upon the Thebans unawed by him to defend their own independence and that of Greece at large, and to assure them that the People of Athens, bearing them no grudge on ac-

though, if the word will bear it, the meaning is right — Reiske, ii. 514, cannot understand *ιδίας*, or, as he renders it, “*propria*”—and asks *cui propria?* suspecting a corrupt text. Taylor justly says, “*idem ac αυτονομος*—*sui juris*.” Wolff explains his “*privata*” by “*nullâ societate cum Græcis conjuncta*.”—Reiske, *Ap. Crit.* i. 280.

count of any untoward circumstances which may have occurred, will succour them with troops, and money, and weapons for light and for heavy armed troops, as well aware that, although it is a noble thing for Greeks to contend one with another for supremacy, yet to be ruled by an alien * bred man, and by him stripped of the sovereignty, is unworthy both of the glory of the Greeks and the valour of their ancestors ; moreover, that the Athenian people do not look upon the Thebans as aliens either in race or in country, but call to mind the services rendered to the ancestors of the Thebans by their own ancestors, when they restored the descendants of Hercules, whom the Peloponnesians were stripping of their hereditary dominions, and defeated by force of arms those who attempted to resist them ; and further, that we afforded an asylum to Œdipus and his comrades in banishment, beside many other passages of kindness and which are honourable to us in our intercourse with the Thebans. Wherefore the People of Athens will not be wanting towards their interests and those of the other Greeks, but will treat with them

* The solemn and earnest contempt of the stranger is here very striking—*αλλοφυλον ανθρωπου*—an alien man, a foreign-born man, an alien-bred man, is the most near : literally, a man of another tribe—of none of the Athenian tribes.

for concluding an alliance offensive and defensive,* mutual naturalization, and an interchange of ratifications upon oath. Ambassadors appointed—Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes of Pæania; Hyperides, son of Cleander of Sphettus; Mnesitheides, son of Antiphanes of Phrearium; Democrates, son of Sophilus of Phlya; Callæchrus, son of Diotimus of Cothocis.

Such was the commencement, such the first framework, of our measures with relation to Thebes, the former policy of Æschines's party having driven the two countries to mutual enmity, and hatred, and distrust. This Decree caused the dangers which encompassed the country to pass away like a cloud.† It was the duty of a good

* *συμμαχίας* is more than alliance—it is alliance for fighting together. It must be admitted, however, that we hardly find any mere alliance, *φιλία*, of old; and *φιλία* seems itself rather to mean being at peace and neutral, than allied. Our translation of *συμμαχία* in the text is clearly the literal one.

† *ὥσπερ νεφός* This passage, or rather phrase, is celebrated, but not therefore the better rendered by translators. Dawson, “scattered and driven away like a cloud before the wind.” Francis makes the phrase passive, passed “away like a cloud, and was dissipated.” Leland adds figures as well as words, and makes it passive also—“the danger which hung lowering over our state was in an instant dissipated like a cloud.” Nothing can be worse. In rendering a passage, in composing which every syllable was weighed, the more literal we are, the

citizen, if he had any better plan, to propound it openly at the time, and not to cast reflections now. For a statesman and a partisan, in no other particular resembling each other, differ most of all in this, that the one gives his councils before the event, and makes himself accountable to his followers,* to fortune, to emergencies, to any one that pleases; while the other, holding his peace when he should speak out, finds fault for the first time the instant that anything goes wrong. That then, as I have said, was the

better, surely. If those who have “dispel,” and “disperse,” and “scatter” be right, how comes it that Δ did not know such words as *διωρειν*, *διασκεδαζω*, *διασπειρω*, *διακροτειν* (displode), *διασειν*, (discuss)? But he says *παρελθειν*, to pass by, or away, or over head.

* Wolff makes *πεισθεισι* govern *τη τυχη*—against all other authority. Some have made the liability be *for* and not *to*; but the construction will not bear this; because, if it had been *for*, the genitive or the dative with *επι* would have been used. Dawson makes the liability be *to* the followers and any one that chose, *for* fortune and emergencies; a sense wholly gratuitous, and which makes the dative mean two several things in the same sentence. Leland’s translating *συκοφαντης*, sycophant, seems quite incomprehensible; he might as well call a *player* a *hypocrite*, or a *peasant* a *villain*. Francis and Dawson make *συμβουλος* merely an adviser; whereas it means here an honest or *bonâ fide* adviser, as opposed to a factious or selfish person seeking his own interest under cover of giving advice. “Statesman” being used in the text with “partisan” opposed, the former is eulogistic, and the latter dyslogistic.

occasion for a man to come forward, who studied the interests of the country, and had sound advice to tender. But I will go to such an excess of candour* as at once to confess I was in the wrong, if even now any person will point out a better course, or show now that any other could then have been taken than the one I pursued. For if there be anything which any one can now descry that ought then to have been done, of that thing I will admit I ought not to have been unaware. But if there be nothing† that either was feasible, or that any man in any way can

* *τοσαυτην ὑπερβολην ποιῶμαι*—This cannot be rendered safely by the mere words, I will make me such an hyperbole—or, I will go me to such a pitch. Leland has the paraphrase, “Such is my confidence in the abundant merits of my cause.” Wolff, “tam proluxe ago.” Dawson’s, “I will venture to say,” is nearer the mark—and Francis’s “I will boldly venture to affirm.” But all these fall short of the Greek phrase, which implies some excess or extravagance.

† The negatives in abundance here merit attention. There are in the Greek no less than five in a line and a half: the intensity thus produced is very striking and truly Demosthenean. In a modern assembly it would be perfectly successful, and is often tried with effect. “If there is nothing, if there was nothing if no man can in no way whatever at this hour, with all the benefits of experience, and wise after the event, tell,” &c.; but still one negative is of necessity omitted from the structure of our language.

even at this day state, what behoved it a counsellor to advise? Was he not bound to choose the only course which presented itself, and was within our reach? * That, then, did I, when the herald, Æschines, demanded, Who desires to speak? Not, Who wants to blame the past? nor yet, Who is willing to guarantee the future? But, while in those times you sat speechless in the assembly, I stood forward to speak. But, if you spake not then, at least speak out now. Say what plan ought I to have fallen upon, or what occasion of benefiting the Commonwealth did I neglect; what alliance, what measure was there that I ought to have preferred pressing upon the people? But the past is ever forgotten by all men, nor does any one propose any council upon it; the future it is, or the present, that calls forth the capacity of a statesman. At that time, then, some of the calamities were approaching, others impended, † to meet which

* *φαινόμενων καὶ ἐνόντων*. Francis, "visible and practicable." Dawson, "that occurred and appeared practicable." Leland, not literal at all—"such measures as occurred," leaving out one quality. Wolff, "*quæ esse viderentur quæque darentur*."

† The Greek description is here very fine: literally, "At that time, then, some calamities as it seemed were going to happen at a future time (approached), but others were present (or at hand, or impending), in which (approaching calamities and present dangers) observe my choice

only examine the course of my policy instead of declaiming upon the event. For the result of all human councils must be as it may please Divine Providence; but the line of his policy shows the perspicacity of the statesman. Lay not then the blame on me if it was Philip's fortune to win the battle; for this depended on Heaven, not on me. But, if I did not adopt all possible expedients, according to all human calculation—if I did not strictly and strenuously persevere in them, and with exertions above my strength—or if I did not insist upon those measures which were glorious for the country, and worthy of her renown, and necessary for her safety*—show me that, and then impeach me when you please!† But if the

of policy and don't blame the event." Nothing can be more clear than this sense, and Wolff is as usual right. But Francis must say, "the future threatened us with its terrors, the present oppressed us with its misfortunes; in these circumstances examine," &c. Dawson makes the future the thing Δ was to provide against, and not the present.

* "Worthy and necessary," literally—but the sense seems to require being brought out as in the text; though this is a licence hardly ever taken in the present translation.

† τὸτ' ἤδη—then immediately;—the text however is almost the same, and is the English version. This passage is very fine, rapid, and spirited. Its success in our senate would be assured.

tempest, the hurricane * which visited us was too mighty, not for us only, but for every other State in Greece, what was to be done? As if, when the owner† of a vessel has done everything that her safety required, and fitted her out with all that could secure her a prosperous voyage, and she encounters a storm, and her works labour and entirely give way, some one should charge

* *συμβας*—happened to—came over—attacked; but visited may do, and is idiomatic; *σκηπτως* certainly means a thunder-gust as well as a whirlwind—a common thunder it does not mean; and, had Δ intended to say thunder, he certainly would not have left his meaning ambiguous—nor have first put thunder-storm, and then *χειμων*, tempest generally. Besides, a whirlwind is as sudden and much more sweeping than thunder. Leland and the others have thunder, and so has Wolff. Reiske considers the words *ἡ χειμων* as a various reading that has crept into the text, (ii. 516)—to which I incline.

† *ναυκληρος* certainly should here be shipowner by the sense,—and so all authorities read it. Yet the word means shipper, pilot, one whose lot is on ship-board—*naclerus*, *nocchiero*, is only pilot. *εμπορος* is one using other men's ships, and originally was not a merchant; for Homer, Od. B. 319, makes Telemachus say he is *εμπορος*, sailing in other men's ships, and *ον νηος επηβολος*. *ναυαρχος* is an admiral, or commander, rather than a shipper or pilot. Δ however *must* here mean owner. Horace, to express the same thing, uses *mercator*, “*navim jactantibus Austrie*,” though *naclerus* would have suited the verse as well—therefore he plainly avoided it, as not meaning shipowner. Calepin's Polyglot and other books translate *ναυκληρος*, *naclerus*, pilot.

him with the shipwreck; But I had not the command* of the ship, might he say; just so, I had not the command of your armies, nor was I master of Fortune, but Fortune mistress of all.

But consider this, and mark; if such was our fate when we combated with the Thebans on our side, what had we to expect if, instead of having them for allies, they had joined Philip, which Æschines exhausted all his strength† to make them do? And if, when the battle was fought three days' march from Attica, so great peril and such alarm beset the city, what would have been our prospects if the disaster had happened‡ close to our own territory? Should we, think you, have been able to stand, to assemble, to breathe? As it was, a single day, or two or

* *κυβερνον* properly refers to the office of the pilot or steersman; but "command" is also used for that, and better suits the comparison here. The passage is a fine one, the comparison being close and well brought out; though the fact of the wreck is not stated, nor is it put, "should a wreck follow;" but only the things leading to one are described. It must be further observed that the comparison somewhat fails at the end; for Fortune still would have governed the whole, even if the merchant had steered in the one case, or Δ had commanded in the other.

† Literally, "raised all his voice."

‡ *πλησιον* is inserted after *σου* by Reiske, his authority being apparently one of the five MSS. cited by Taylor, ii. 516, and Ap. Crit. i. 283. Wolff and most others omit this, and make the sense, *within* the country.

three, contributed much to the safety of the city. But in the event I am supposing*——It is, however, useless to recount things which we have been spared, through the goodness of Heaven and the protection of the very alliance you are attacking.† All these things, Judges, I address chiefly to you and to those who compose the outer circle of this audience; for as to this despicable creature, a short and simple statement will suffice.

If to you alone of all others, Æschines, the future had been revealed at the time of our public deliberations upon these matters, you were bound to disclose it; if you did not foresee it, you were responsible for being as ignorant as the rest of us. How dare you then accuse me on this score any more than I am to accuse you? So much better a citizen was I than you in those circumstances of which I am speaking (and of others for the present I say nothing), that I devoted myself to what all men deemed the best interests of the State, shrinking from no personal danger, nor so much as throwing away a thought upon it, while you gave no bet-

* Francis omits this striking interruption.

† An anticlimax here is introduced, but with the view of clinching the argument against Æschines. It is as if Δ had said, "Our escape is owing, under Providence, to the Theban alliance you attack."

ter advice, (if you had, mine would not have been followed,) nor did you lend your aid* in executing mine; but whatever the meanest and most disaffected person could do, that you are found throughout these transactions to have done. And thus, at one and the same time, Aristratus in Naxus and Aristolaus in Thasus, the inveterate enemies of this country, are condemning the friends of Athens, and at Athens Æschines is impeaching Demosthenes! Yet ought that man, whose renown lies in the misfortunes of Greece, rather to perish than accuse another; and that man cannot be a friend† to his country whose purposes are served by the same events as benefit her enemies. You prove this by all the life you lead, and all the things you do, and all the measures you propound, and all the measures you do not propound.‡ Is there

* χρησιμον παρεσχες—made or showed yourself useful. Why Wolff has, contrary to his wonted closeness, both “studium” and “utilitas,” seems hard to tell.

† ευνοον τη πατρίδι—well disposed to the country—but Wolff unaccountably has “bonus civis et patriæ amans.” Surely his text must have πολιτης αγαθος or χρησιμος.

‡ As πολιτευη cannot be rendered by one word, it is necessary, in order to preserve the symmetry and force of the original, to render ζῆς and ποιεῖς by substantives also. This is a noble passage, and of a kind admirably suited to our parliamentary warfare. Such rapid invectives have the most certain success, and none the less for being plain,

anything in agitation for the interests of the country? Æschines is mute. Does anything go wrong, and disappoint expectations? Forth comes Æschines; *as old fractures and sprains annoy us afresh the moment the body is stricken with disease., *ἀρχαῖα καὶ παλαιὰ τραυματίζονται*

But, since he dwells so much on the actual events, I will hazard a somewhat bold assertion,† and let not any one, I pray, be staggered by its extravagance, but attend particularly to my statement. If the events of futurity had been manifest to all, and if all had foreseen them, and you, Æschines, had foretold them, and had bellowed out your protestations ever so vociferously, instead of never uttering a word—not even then ought the country to have acted otherwise than she did, if she had any regard either for her glory, or her ancestry, or her pos- and either unmixed with sarcasm, or having only a subdued sarcastic tone. In Δ, however, the sarcasm breaks out in full force at the end.

* Dawson chooses to make Æschines “appear all in a rage,” and converts the ailments into “eruptions and sores.” Francis, “fractures and strains,” aright. Wolff, *rupta et convulsa*. *σπασμὰ* may be cramps or spasms rather than sprains; but the latter are more likely to come out than spasms, which are not any accidents that can remain and lie dormant.

† *παράδοξον*. Wolff, *admirabile*. Dawson and Francis, “kind of paradox.” Leland, “hazard a bold assertion.” The latter seems the better sense, but the other will also do.

terity. Now indeed she is supposed to have been frustrated in her proceedings, the lot of all mortals, if Providence so wills it; but then, had she, after aspiring to the foremost place among the other States, abandoned the attempt, she would have borne the blame of delivering them all over to Philip. For, if she had given up without a struggle all that your forefathers encountered every danger to win,* who but would have spurned† you, Æschines? Not the country indeed, not me. But what eyes, gracious God! should we have been able to lift up on any strangers coming to Athens, if things had stood in their present posture and Philip had been made general and master over all, while others than ourselves had borne the brunt of resisting such a consummation?—especially when in past times this country never preferred inglorious ease to the peril of illustrious deeds? For which of the Greeks, which of the Barbarians, is ignorant that, both from the Thebans and from the Spartans who bore sway before them, ay, and from the Persian king himself,

* In the Greek there is here a double negative, for intense affirmation. We must render it affirmatively.

† *καταπτύσειν*. Francis and Dawson take the literal meaning of “spit upon;” but the former absurdly adds, “with vileness and contempt,” of which the one word is mere nonsense, the other superfluous; for who spits on one in token of respect?

permission would thankfully and cheerfully have been given to the country to take what she chose, and to keep her own, provided she would only submit to a master,* and suffer some other State to head the Greeks? But this was felt neither to be national,† nor bearable, nor natural to Athenians; nor could any one at any time persuade this country to join powerful wrongdoers and seek her own safety in slavery. Struggling for supremacy, and power, and glory, and confronting all hazards, she has lived through all ages of her history! And yourselves feel that this is noble and fitting your character, when you extol such conduct in

* *ΤΟ ΚΕΛΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΠΟΙΕΙΝ*. This was the “accursed thing” in the estimation of Greek pride—the doing another’s bidding; but we cannot render it literally. Leland’s “receive law,” if expanded into “receive the law from others,” would not be bad. Wolff’s “*imperata faciet*” does not render the sense; for the Greek words had, as it were, a technical meaning.

† *Οὔ πατρία, οὐδ’ ἀνέκτα, οὐδ’ ἐμφυτά*. The text is literal enough, only that *πατρία* seems to relate more to ancestry than “national” does. Possibly it might be rendered “Attic,” as we say “English;” only that “Attic” has another sense. The last word of the three is inborn—innate—relating to the people’s own character and dispositions.—Francis, “inconsistent with your innate love of virtue,” an intolerable circumlocution, which gets rid of all the force of the expression. Leland, “unbecoming their descent, intolerable to their spirit, repugnant to their nature”—an amplification, certainly, but a happy one.

your ancestors. Justly.* For which of you is not astonished† at the virtue of those men, who could submit to leave this country and this city, and embark in their ships, rather than bow to a master?—choosing Themistocles, the adviser of the measure, for their commander, stoning to death Cyrsilus for recommending submission to tyranny,‡ and not himself only, but your wives stoning his wife? For the Athenians of those days did not go in quest of an orator or a leader through whom they might enjoy a prosperous slavery; they would not deign to live if the life of liberty were denied them. Each of them thought that he was born, not for his father and his mother only, but for his country. What then? He who looks upon himself as only made for his parents, awaits his destined end in the course of nature; but he

* One word, *εἰκοτως*, Dawson has been pleased to make into a whole sentence—"And herein you have done nothing but what is just and generous." *Quousque tandem?*

† *αγασαιο* is more than "admire" (Francis and Wolff). Leland and Dawson's "astonishment" comes nearer. It is a word of great intensity. "Revere" is too calm a phrase. Δ is citing the greatest instance of patriotic devotion in ancient times, as the similar project of the Dutch was in modern.

‡ *ὑπακούειν τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις*—listen to orders—the same kind of phrase with *κελευόμενον ποιεῖν*—but not so noted and technical.

who feels that he is born for his country too, will rather die than see her enslaved, and will account the insults and the disgrace which must needs await the citizens of a conquered state more frightful than death itself.

If then I should take upon me to affirm that it was I who made you entertain sentiments worthy of your forefathers, there lives not the man who could justly blame me. But I am now demonstrating that those measures were your own, and showing that the country had adopted those principles before I did, while however I assert that in the execution of each design I too had my share. But Æschines, impeaching my whole conduct and bidding you hold me cheap as the cause of the country's alarms and perils, would fain strip me of the credit at this moment, and thus deprive you of the glory ever after. For, if you condemn Ctesiphon on account of my* policy having been wrong, you will be proved to have yourselves done wrong, instead of merely suffering under the dispensations of fortune. But it is not true! It is not true that you have done wrong, Men of Athens! in fighting

* It is strange that Wolff should omit the *εμου* in his version, and make the *πολιτευσαμενου* apply to the *τοινοι*, or Ctesiphon, which would really be nonsense.

the battle of all Greece for her freedom and salvation! No! By your forefathers, who for that cause rushed upon destruction at Marathon, and by those who stood in battle array at Plataea, and those who fought the sea-fight at Salamis, and by the warriors of Artemisium, and by all the others who now repose in the Sepulchres of the Nation—gallant men, and to all of whom, Æschines, the state decreed a public funeral, deeming that they too had earned such honours, not those only who had combated fortunately and had come off victorious—and with strict justice;* for the duty of the brave

* As *εἰκώς* had furnished Dawson with one sentence before, so here *δικαίως* gives him the occasion of inserting another, intruding his hand even into the sacred precinct of the famous oath itself. "And in this the commonwealth acted upon the principles of the most strict and impartial justice"—this is really neither *ἀνεκτόν*, nor *πατριόν*, nor *ἐμφύτιον*. Francis is nearly as bad; "Such distinction would have been most unjust."

Leland in some parts of this great passage exceeds all bounds in nearly the same degree—*τοὺς τῶν προγόνων*—"those generous souls of ancient times," is really not only gratuitous, but resembles the style of a convivial song; *ἑτέροὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀνδρας*, "those illustrious sons of Athens." Yet all the labour given to add and expand seems so much spared on the task of translating; else why does he make *προκινδυνεύσαντας* merely, "who were exposed?" Francis makes the country have only honoured the memory of the slain by inserting them "in the public registers;" though *μνημα* is a sepulchre, and *κειμένους* shows a lying or being

had been done by all; but what fortune Providence bestows on each, that they had shared.

laid, and no one has mentioned any public tablets where names were inserted; while on the contrary, we learn from Corn. Nepos that Miltiades and his army were represented in the Portico. The word *προκινδυνεύσαντας* it is impossible well to render—it is meeting danger in order to drive or ward off some threatened blow. Wolff, “*pro aliis dimicant.*” *παραταξάμενους* is a noble word for the sound; but “arranged in battle,” or “standing in battle array,” renders it well. Francis’s “engaged in battle” gives it feebly enough. Dawson’s “bearing the brunt of the battle” is better. Wolff’s “*in acie steterunt,*” seems merely “standing in line,” and is insufficient. One thing is clear, that the more simply this celebrated piece is rendered, the better. The original owes much of its sublimity to its great simplicity.

The whole passage which ends here, and begins *εἰ γὰρ πάντα προέτιο ἀκούει* (“For if she had given up” p. 141), is deserving of close study, being one of the greatest pieces of declamation on record in any tongue. Much of it would have answered in our debates; the allusions to history are quite such as would tell with us; the common-places might alone require to be changed, those, especially, about slavery and death, because to us they seem trivial; but so probably would many of ours, such as those on tolerance, humanity, and freedom of discussion, on which we so often dwell. How far the Oath might be adopted by us with effect, may be doubted by some, inexperienced in public speaking; but exclamation and adjuration as vehemement have by skilful men been tried with perfect success both in our Senate and our Forum. To be sure, the swift transition from this noble passage to very gross personal abuse and even ribaldry, would never with us have been borne, nor indeed with us could a defensive and expla-

And such, execrable pedagogue,* such being the case, it is that you would fain strip me of the respect and love of those very countrymen, and for this purpose dwell upon the trophies and the battles, and the great deeds of old, with what tittle of which has this trial the least connexion? And when I came forward, thou third-rate actor, to counsel the state touching her claim of sovereignty, with what sentiments did it become me to be inspired on mounting the Bema? Should I have spoken things unworthy of those proud recollections? Then had I deserved to die. For you yourselves, Athenians, ought not to hear private and public causes

natory speech have abounded so much in recrimination as the oration at large does, without a great risk of its making the audience suspect a weak case.

* *καταπατος*—devoted to the furies—object of divine vengeance; *γραμματοκυφων*, teacher of boys: the former a vehement expression; the latter a very unworthy sneer at the trade of *Æschines'* father. Francis loses his temper even more than Δ in this place. "Thou accursed villain! thou miserable pettifogger!" quoth he—the latter not being the true sense. Dawson, "vile scribbler." Wolff, "gibboso literator" (from *κυφων*, subst.—instead of *κυπτω*). Leland, "abject scrivener"—always supposing this to mean a clerk or writer, whereas it is a money-changer, the former meaning of a conveyancer being quite obsolete. *τριταγωνιστα*—Dawson, "buffoon." Leland, "vile player." But why not the literal meaning—third-rate player—an actor of third-rate parts? Francis is right here.

in the same temper of mind ; but as the daily transactions of life should be judged strictly and according to the rules and practices of society, so should measures of state be considered with a view to the dignity of our ancestors ; and each of you, in coming to decide upon state prosecutions, should, together with the staff and badge of justice,* take upon himself the impression of the country's greatness, if you feel that you should act up to those worthy recollections. But in touching upon the deeds of your forefathers,† I have passed over some Decrees and some transactions. I would now therefore return to the point from which I digressed.

On arriving at Thebes, we found the ambassadors of Philip and of the Thessalians and his other allies already there ; our own friends in

* The sticks and balls used in voting, literally ; but the words also mean staff and badge.

† Nothing can be more simple than this transition, or rather return from a digression ; leaving it to the quick sense of an Athenian audience to gather that the topic had carried away the orator, as doubtless it had done them ; yet Dawson must needs make him clumsily say that " the mention of the great actions of their forefathers had transported him." Leland falls into the same puerile turn. These translators really make the most skilful of composers fall into the same incredible clumsiness of expression which has made the readers of Lord Kaimes smile. " Returning now from such episodical diversions," is his lordship's *callida junctura*.

alarm, those of Philip full of confidence; and to show that I do not say so for any purpose of my own, read the Letter which as ambassadors we immediately sent. For to such a pitch of calumny has this man reached, that whenever any thing is rightly done, he ascribes it to the occasion and not to me; while of all untoward events I and my fortune are the cause. Nay, as it should seem, I, a counsellor and orator, am to have no hand* in any thing that is effected by debate and advice, and yet am alone to be held accountable for all the miscarriages of our arms and our military commanders. Can there be a more cruel slanderer, or a more execrable, than this man? Read the Letter.

LETTER (not preserved).

The assembly being convoked, the Macedonian ambassadors were first introduced, having been received in the quality of allies. Upon rising to speak, they harangued much in praise of Philip, much in vituperation of you, and in recital of all that you had ever done

* *συναιτιος*—co-operator—co-efficient—co-causer; having a hand, as in the text, is literal, and is good English. Francis, "no merit." Dawson's "no part" is much better. Leland, "no share of merit"

adverse to the Thebans. In a word, they concluded that for the favours received from Philip they should show themselves grateful, but for the wrongs done by you, they should seek redress in whatever way they pleased, either by giving a passage through their country to ours, or by joining in the march upon Attica; and they showed, as they imagined, that if their advice were followed, the cattle and slaves and all the other wealth of Attica would be brought into Bœotia, while, by following the advice which they declared we were going to give, all the Bœotian resources would be squandered in the war. They said much more besides, all to the like effect. But the answer which we made to these things, I should take more delight in detailing point by point than anything in the whole world;* only I am apprehensive lest, now the occasion is passed away, you should consider that some deluge has overwhelmed those transactions, and regard all that could be said upon the subject as keeping up a fruitless contention† respecting them. Hear, however, our arguments and their reply. Read them.

* Literally, value it more than all in life; but "anything in the whole world" is idiomatic and close.

† The κατακλυσμος and ματαιος οχλος are here both very fine.

ANSWER OF THE THEBANS (not preserved).

After these proceedings, they called upon you and summoned you in form; you marched; you succoured them; to pass over intermediate* occurrences, they received you as familiar friends; so much so that, while their own infantry and cavalry were stationed without the walls, they quartered your army in their dwellings and their citadel,† in the midst of their children, and wives, and whatever was dearest to them. Why, on that day the Thebans thrice pronounced the noblest panegyrick upon you; first on your courage, next on your justice, thirdly on your self-command. For when they preferred fighting on your side to fighting against you, they deemed you both braver than Philip and more just in your demands; and when they left in your power their children and their wives, possessions which they and all men guard the most jealously, they proved the confidence they reposed in your honour. In all this, Athenians, they showed a correct knowledge of your character. For when our troops entered‡ the city, no one

* *εν μεσσω*—intermediate; Francis, “less important”—but Δ only means plainly to pass over all till he comes to Thebes; and so Leland and Dawson.

† *αστυ*, counted as the house of their Gods.

‡ *αδικως* clearly means to imply that no complaint, right

ever preferred so much as a groundless charge against you, so temperate was your behaviour; and on two occasions, while serving with them, the one in the first engagement near the river, the other in the winter campaign, your conduct was not only irreproachable, but admirable in discipline,* in equipment, in courage. Hence on their part, praises bestowed upon you; on your part, sacrifices and processions to the Gods. And here I would faint† ask Æschines a question: When all this was going on, and the city was filled with enthusiasm, and gratitude, and eulogy, whether he joined in gratulation and thanksgiving with the people, or remained at home sorrowful, and bemoaning, and begrudging‡ the public prosperity? For if indeed he made his appearance, and took part with the rest, is not his conduct dreadful, nay rather is it

or wrong, was ever made. But Dawson, contrary to the plain syntax as well as the rest of the sentence, makes it that no complaint of any *injustice* was made—the question being of *continence*.” “*now made as the very γὰρ ἐλπίδι καὶ ἀνδρίᾳ*”

* *κοσμοφ*—discipline—is literal and right here. Wolff’s “modestia” must be wrong—the moderation (if that be meant) belonged to another head, and is already treated by *σωφροσύνη*. Some have *ornatus*; but *παράσκευη* includes that.

† *ἡδὲως ποιεῖν*. The text is both idiomatic and literal. Not as Francis and Leland have it, “gladly.”

‡ *δυσμεναιων*—bearing ill will—begrudging. Leland, “provoked.” Francis, “indulging the malevolence of his spirit.” Dawson, “discontented.” Wolff, “ægre fereus.”

not impious, in now calling upon you to condemn those proceedings as evil which he had called the Gods to witness were good, those Gods in whose presence you have this day sworn? But if he did not appear, does he not deserve a thousand deaths for groaning over a spectacle that filled all others with joy? * Read now these Decrees.

* The beauty of this passage is very striking. Not merely the exquisite diction—the majesty of the rhythm—the skilful collocation—the picturesque description of *Æschines*' dismay, and skulking from the public rejoicings; but the argument is to be observed and admired. It is a dilemma, and one which would be quite sufficient for the momentary victory at which alone an orator often aims. It is not closely reasoned; it is not a complete dilemma; a retort is obvious, (to use the language of the logicians,) and this is always fatal, being the test before which no bad dilemma can stand. *Æschines* had only to embrace the second alternative—the second horn—and it never could have transfixed him. "I did remain at home, not mourning over the success of your measures, but their wickedness; not grudging the people their short-lived joy, but grieved to see them deluded by your arts to their ruin." This answer was complete. Nevertheless, there are but very few complete dilemmas in the whole course of any argument upon any subject; and the one under consideration is quite good enough to pass with an audience in a speech. Many much less complete are every day used with us both in the senate, in popular assemblies, and even at the bar, and with sufficient success. This whole passage would be of certain success in our Parliament.

DECREES OF THANKSGIVINGS (not preserved).

We then were employed in thanksgivings, the Thebans in reflecting that they owed their deliverance to us : and it turned out that you, who had seemed to require succour in consequence of the conduct of Æschines's party,* were yourselves succouring others in consequence of having been guided by me. But what cries† Philip raised upon those transactions, and in what trouble he was, you shall learn from the letters which he sent to Peloponnesus. Produce, then, and read these, that you may see whether my constancy, and journeyings,‡ and toils, and those various decrees which Æschines now tears to pieces, worked any good. For, indeed, Athenians, we have had before my time many great and illustrious orators, the famous Callis-

* ἀφ' ὧν ἐπαρτον οὐτοί. Wolff, "propter istorum conatus," which may mean either Æschines' party or the Thebans, but rather the former, as it is to be admitted οὐτοί with Δ generally does—So Leland and the others. Dawson and Francis, as well as Leland, make it the Athenians who were helping others.

† οἷας ἤφαι φωνας, with the παραχαίς which follows, forbid us to render φωνας merely the "style adopted" by Philip, with Leland.

‡ πλανοί—wanderings—peregrinations—and so Wolff, errationes. There may be an error in the Greek text ; but journeyings seems to render the word as it stands.

tratus, Aristophon, Cephalus, Thrasybulus, and vast numbers more, but no one of them ever so entirely gave himself up to his country; he that propounded Decrees did not go ambassador, and he that went ambassador did not propound Decrees; but each secured his own ease, and, if anything went wrong, his escape.* What, then? some one may say, Do you magnify yourself above all others, for fortitude and for daring, as if you had done all yourself? I say no such thing; but I felt so convinced of the great risk which the country was about to encounter, that I saw no room for looking to my own security, and made it my delight to leave no duty undone which any one ought to do. For I had persuaded myself,† groundlessly, peradventure,‡

* ὑπελειπετο ἑαυτῷ ῥαστῶνῃν, ἀμα δ' εἰ τι γιγνοίτο, ἀναφοραν. Nothing can be more expressive or more terse. "Left in store for himself some ease, and if anything happened, a way out of it, a means of slipping out." It is literally a dipping up—an emersion—a rising out of the mess or sea of troubles. Francis, "Some refuge and resource." Dawson, "retreat." Leland, "resource." Wolff, "receptum," it is to be supposed for "receptaculum."

† The great climax formerly commented on seems to have here been still in his mind, probably from its brilliant success. The composition of this passage is fine, though much inferior to that of the other.

‡ τυχόν αναισθητών—"perhaps too fondly," Dawson; this is very good. Francis, "foolishly." Wolff, "stupidely fortassis." Leland, "not perhaps on solid grounds." "Fond"

yet still I had persuaded myself, that no propounder of Decrees could propound better than mine, nor any executor of plans execute better than I, nor any ambassador negotiate more zealously or more honestly. Hence it was that I put myself forward on all occasions. Read now the letters of Philip.

LETTERS (not preserved).*

To such extremities, Æschines, did my policy reduce Philip. Through me was he brought to utter such cries,—he who had before cast on this country so many insolent expressions.† For this was I crowned by the people, when you stood by and did not object. But Diondas, who did impeach the Decree for crowning me, had not a fifth part of the votes. Then read me those Decrees, which were at the time absolved,‡ and which Æschines never so much as impeached.

in old English is “foolish,” and Chaucer uses to *fonen* for to dote: but it is now used as denoting some folly connected with love of oneself or others.

* It is truly unfortunate that the only letter of Philip in which he appears to have quailed should be lost. Had Δ exaggerated in his description of it, so that he was fain to suppress it when he published the oration? Of the publication we have no account; but the loss of this letter is remarkable.

† *επαίρομενος θρασυς* (λογους), raising up against us insolent words.

‡ Acquitted when charged as unconstitutional.

DECREES (not preserved).

These Decrees, Athenians, are couched in the selfsame words which first Aristonicus and now Ctesiphon have used for theirs; and these Decrees Æschines himself never attacked nor joined in attacking. But it would have been more reasonable then to impeach Demomeles, the proposer of those Decrees, or Hyperides, if the present charges against me are well founded, than to attack Ctesiphon now. And why? Because Ctesiphon is at liberty to rest his cause upon those precedents, and upon the decisions of the courts, and upon the fact that Æschines himself never accused them for propounding what Ctesiphon has now proposed, and upon the principle of law which does not allow of an impeachment for things so settled;* and for many other reasons. Then too the cause would have been decided on its own merits, without anticipating any other results† to prejudice it. But

* This is clearly the meaning of *των οὐτῶ πραχθέντων*, which Francis renders "a second prosecution for things already determined"—a plea of *autrefois acquit*, instead of the *statute of limitations*. But there had been no trial to which this kind of defence could apply. Leland makes the same version. Dawson is right. Wolff, literally, "*de rebus ita actis nulla actio*."

† This passage is certainly difficult. The first part is

I conceive it was not at that time possible to do what Æschines is now doing, to cull out from times long gone by, and from a multitude of Decrees, such points as no one had any notice of, nor could expect to hear brought forward this day, and then to inveigh against them and make a show of saying something,* by falsifying dates, and substituting wrong motives of action for the true ones. Such things were not then possible; but the statements should have been made while the truth itself was accessible, and while your recollection of men's conduct was fresh, and the things in question were still all but actually in your hands. Wherefore, avoiding the trial at the date of the transactions, he now comes forward when it is too late, expecting you, as it should seem, to make this proceeding a contest of oratory and not an examination of public conduct ;

clear enough ; but what means *πριν τι τούτων προλαβειν* ? Francis, " take advantage of circumstances that have since passed." Dawson flies from the difficulty, and hides himself in a paraphrase—" false colours which envy and prejudice have in part cast on it." Leland, " without any previous considerations in its favour." Wolff, "*priusquam horum quicquam accessisset.*" It must be, " before he could prejudice it by any of those things."

* *ἐοικειν τι λεγειν*. Dawson, " give his assertions the plausible air they now wear." Francis, " maintain the specious appearance of a prosecutor." Wolff, "*speciosam adferre orationem.*" Leland, " made up a plausible harangue."

a discussion of words,* and not an inquiry into the interests of the country.

Then he becomes sententious,† and says that you ought to lay aside the opinions concerning us which you may have brought with you from home; and that as when in reckoning with any one you think there remains a balance over, yet if you find the account square and nothing due, you give in; so should you now yield to what the debate has made appear. See now of how perishable a nature is everything hatched in iniquity, and justly so! For by this very sapient illustration he has confessed that you recognize in me the advocate of my country, in him the partisan of Philip; for he never would have besought you to change your opinion had not this been your actual impression of us both: and that he has no just ground for conjuring you to alter your opinion, I shall easily show, not indeed by using counters, for we are not now upon an account of money, but by recounting each matter

* λογῶν κριεῖν—Dawson, "criticize words." Francis, "judgment." Leland, "judge of speech."

† σοφίζομαι here seems to be, not to "argue with sophistry" (Francis, Dawson, and Leland), but to "be wise over-much." Wolff, "argutatur." Others have "sententiosum agit," which seems nearest the mark.

shortly, and appealing to you who hear me as at once auditors* and witnesses.

My policy, which he impugns, was the cause why the Thebans, instead of joining Philip to invade us, as every one expected, arrayed themselves with us to resist him; why the war, instead of being waged within Attica itself, was carried on seven hundred stadia from the city, on the Bœotian confines; why, instead of privateers from Eubœa spoiling and harassing us,† Attica enjoyed a maritime peace during the whole war; why, instead of Philip being master of the Hellespont, and seizing on Byzantium, we had the Byzantines with us in our hostilities against him.‡ Does this reckoning upon measures strike you as resembling that with counters?§ Or must these events be taken out of the

* λογισταί—auditors of accounts—keeping up the simile introduced into the argument by Æschines.

† ἡμᾶς φερεῖν καὶ ἀγεῖν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας—Dawson, led by the collocation, makes this, not pirates from Eubœa, but “pirates driving us from Eubœa.”

‡ This most Demosthenean passage would have had infallible success with us.

§ This appeal is fine, and indeed full of wit, almost of humour. Having shown how he can handle Æschines’ simile and point it against him, he turns round sharp upon him, as if to ask him how he likes it—how he relishes *this other kind of reckoning*? This sort of turn is very successful when practised with due skill in our assemblies;

opposite side of my account? But rather ought we not to see that they be had in everlasting remembrance? I do not add anything on that cruelty having been experienced by others which Philip, whenever he had the mastery, invariably showed; while of the good will which he affected towards you when casting about* how he might effect his other purposes, you deservedly reaped the fruits. Of these things I say nothing. Yet I hesitate not to affirm that a person desirous of fairly examining a minister's conduct, and not calumniating him, would never impeach those things which you, Æschines, now refer to; putting cases† and mimicking words and gestures; for the whole fate of Greece depended, do you not perceive? on this—whether I spoke one word or another—whether I stretched my hand but it requires not only due skill—it is one of the many things only competent to speakers of due weight also. *ανταρχειν* is to take from the opposite or debit side of the account. Francis, forgetting the force of the *αντι*, merely says, “taking out of the account.” So Leland, “erased from the account.” Dawson is extremely learned in the phraseology of accounting here, and speaks of stock, balances, par; but misses the word.

* This seems literally to express *περιβαλλομενος*, and it is quite idiomatic.

† *παραδειγματα πλαττων*—making examples—putting cases. Francis, “inventing comparisons.” Dawson, “inventing similes.” Leland, “inventing metaphors.” Wolff, “*exempla confingeredo*.”

this way or that way.* But the fair accuser would survey the transactions themselves, and see what resources and what forces the country possessed when I entered into public life, and what I collected for her after I came forward, and how her enemies were circumstanced. So that if I had reduced her power, he might show that the guilt was mine ; but if I had greatly augmented it, then would he never have attacked me. But since you, Æschines, have fled away from this comparison, I will institute it ; and do you, Athenians, mark if I fairly state the case.

The power of the state, then, consisted in the Islands, not all of them, but the weaker ones, for neither Chios, nor Rhodes, nor Corcyra were of our side. Our revenue was five-and-forty talents, and that was anticipated ;† of infantry or cavalry, except common citizens, not a man. But the most alarming thing of all, and what made most for the enemy, was that these men had prepared all our neighbours for hostility rather than friendship with us, the Megareans, Thebans, Eubœans. Such was the situation of the country, nor can any one gainsay any of

* This whole passage is really humorous, even to drollery. Nor did the "ridiculus consul" ever give more into it, as far as a single phrase or two goes, even when laughing at him who gave him the memorable appellation.

† προξυλεγμένα—Dawson "proved deficient." Francis and Leland right. Wolff, "jam ante exacta."

these statements. But observe how Philip stood, with whom our contest lay. First he commanded his followers, by his own undivided authority,* which is everything for the success of a war. Next, they had their arms always in their hands.† Then he abounded in revenues, and acted as he chose, not announcing his designs in Decrees, not consulting in public, nor impeached by calumniators, nor having to defend himself against charges of Illegal Proposition,‡ nor accountable to any one, but himself

* *αυτοκρατωρ*. This means as in the text, in contradistinction to influence over allies or subsidiary troops not under the actual command of the power employing them. Leland, "absolute and uncontrolled," gives the same meaning in the result, but loses the contrasting effect of the word.

† Francis makes this, which should be given as in the text literally, "his troops were inured to action." Dawson, "continually under arms, and completely disciplined"—the latter part being quite gratuitous.

‡ Dawson leaves out the cream of this fine and skilful enumeration—the *γραφη παρανομων*—the charge of Illegal Propounding—which Δ says Philip had not, like him, to be always thinking how he might avoid. This too applies to the existing prosecution. Dawson only has "charge of illegal proceedings"—which means anything. Leland is worse—"guard against impeachments." There is hardly a nobler passage in all Δ than this. It is a close and rapid summary of almost his whole case. It is peculiarly suited to our Senate, where it is no wearisome reiteration, but a necessary part of oratory to present the case in various forms, sometimes in detail, sometimes in abridgment, sometimes merely by way of allusion, or even in illustration of a particular topic.

absolutely the master, the leader, the lord of all. But I who was pitted against him,* (for it is but fair to examine this also,) what sway had I? For first, this power of haranguing, the only power I possessed, you gave equally to his hirelings and to me; and whenever they† overpowered me on any question (as frequently happened from accidental causes) you took counsel in the enemy's favour, and then left me.‡ Yet did I, under all these disadvantages, obtain for you the alliance of the Eubœans, the Achæans, the Corinthians, the Thebans, the Megareans, the Leucadians, the Coreyrians, from whence you collected 15,000 foreign infantry and 2000 cavalry, beside the troops of the State. Of money I also obtained as large a supply as was practicable.

But if, *Æschines*, you now speak of our rights with respect to the Thebans, or with respect to the Byzantians, or with respect to the Eubœans, or put the argument upon the footing

* *πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιταγμένους*—literally, drawn up in array against him—or as we say, idiomatically, “pitted against him.”

† Dawson makes *οὐροί*, “parricides”—all of a sudden! This is one of the oddest freaks ever exhibited by a translator, unless indeed Dawson had seen some edition with a misprint, or some MS. which no edition takes notice of.

‡ *ἀπεῖρε*—Francis, “departed after passing every possible resolution in favour of your enemies.” Leland omits the departing; so does Wolff.

of equality* with all these powers; first of all you are not aware that when 300 galleys maintained the conflict for all Greece, this country furnished 200 of the number, and never considered herself as ill treated, nor brought to trial those who advised her, nor ever seemed to be aggrieved by the disproportion (indeed, it would have been disgraceful if she had); but rendered thanks to Heaven for having, in the midst of the common dangers that surrounded Greece, contributed a double share towards securing the common safety. Besides, you will get but slender thanks from this assembly by calumniating me. For why will you now be insisting on what ought then to have been done, when you never brought forward any such proposition at the time, though you were in the city and were present at the debates? if indeed you could have suited your measures to the temper of those times in which we obtained not what we wished, but what we could. For there was a bidder against us, quite ready

* Reiske has here *περι των νησων*—all others reading *των*. Why should the Islands contribute? Besides, *προς*, used to the other states, and changed into *περι* here, shows the meaning—independent of the whole argument immediately turning upon the proportions. Reiske gives no kind of authority for his emendation; but merely says, “*correx!*” (ii. 527).

instantly to receive whatever allies we rejected and to advance upon our price.*

But if I am now accused for what I actually did, what think you would have happened had those States gone over to Philip while I was captiously disputing upon the contingents, and had he become master at once of Eubœa and Thebes and Byzantium? What think you would those abandoned men have done or have said then? Would they not have said the allies had been betrayed? Would they not have said that, desirous of siding with us, their advances had been repelled by us?—that he had become master of the Hellespont through the Byzantians?—that he had got possession of the corn trade of Greece?—that the weight of a near and a heavy war had been brought down upon Attica by the Thebans?—that the sea had been made unnavigable by the privateers stalking† forth from Eubœa? Would they not have said all this and a great deal more? A wicked thing, Athenians, a wicked thing is a calumniator ever, and in every way a slanderous

* χρηματα προσθησων. Francis, "enlarge their price." Dawson, "liberal rewards." Leland, "bid much higher." Wolff, "pretium augetur."

† ἐρησσομενων means either simply "faring forth, or breaking out." Wolff most properly here uses the very fine word "grassantes," with which our text coincides.

and a querulous* thing. But this creature is despicable by nature, and incapable of any trace of all generous and noble deeds; ape of a tragedian, CEnomaus of the barn, spurious orator!† For what does your eloquence profit the country? You now descant upon what is past and gone; as if a physician, when called to patients in a sinking state, should give no advice, nor prescribe any course by which the disease might be cured; but after one of them had died, and the funeral duties were performing,

* βασκανον και φιλατιον. Francis will have these words, "malignant, envious, and fond of contention," the whole being in anti-climax as well as feeble. Dawson, "complaining of the government of Providence itself;" herein following the Scholiast, and quoting Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, who uses the words τις υμας ελθασκανε, Who has bewitched you? Leland, "Querulous, and industrious in seeking pretence of complaint."

† This is a remarkable piece of abuse, and as in the great passage, it succeeds immediately a noble and chaste and truly Demosthenean passage. κιναδος τ' ανθρωπιον—a beastly (fox-like) little fellow. Francis, "pernicious animal in human shape." Dawson, "diminutive wretch and savage brute." Leland, "fox in human shape." The other epithets might be rendered perhaps as closely as may be by "mimic tragedian! hero (or CEnomaus) of the barn! Brummagem orator! or base-coin orator!" αυτοπραγικος must be more than mere tragedian—it is untaught—self-made tragedian. παρασημος is adulterated, or base, or spurious. Dawson's "infamous" is not at all like it. Francis, "orator of false and adulterate coin." What orator may that be precisely?

should follow him to the grave, and expound how the poor man never would have died had such and such things only been done. Moon-stricken!* is it now that at length you too speak out?

Nor yet will you find that our very defeat, if you exult in that over which you, wretch, rather ought to groan, befell the country in any wise through my policy. Consider only, Athenians: Never from any embassy upon which you sent me did I come off worsted by Philip's ambassadors; not from Thessaly, not from Ambracia, not from Illyria, not from the Thracian kings, not from the Byzantians, nor from any other quarter whatever, nor finally, of late, from Thebes. But wheresoever his negotiators were overcome in debate, thither he marched, and carried the day by his arms. Do you then require this of me, and

* *εμβροντητε*—thunderstruck—stupefied. Wolff, "attonnité." Francis, "In very phrensy" (and he mistakes the question put here). But Dawson spins these four words—*εμβροντητε αιτα νυν λεγεις*—into two whole and most gratuitous sentences—"Hardened fellow that thou art, and proof against all correction, even though a peal of thunder were the vehicle of it"—(this is pretty well for one single word of the Greek; and now for the other three)—"Is this a time of day to begin a discourse of matters so long past and gone?" This is really worth a place in the cabinets of the curious, as the uttermost extent to which the powers of paraphrase can go. At this rate Δ would have spoken not three but seven and twenty hours, or thereabouts, had he spoken our language.

are you not ashamed, at the moment you are upbraiding me for weakness, to require, that I should defy him single-handed and by force of words alone? For what other weapons had I? Certainly not the lives of men, nor the fortune of warriors, nor the military operations of which you are so blundering as to demand an account at my hands.* But whatever a minister can be accountable for, make of that the strictest scrutiny, and I do not object. What then falls within this description? To descry events in their first beginnings, to cast his look forward, and to warn others of their approach. All this I have done. Then, to confine within the narrowest bounds all delays, and backwardness, and ignorance, and contentiousness, faults which are inherent and unavoidable in all States; and on the other hand, to promote unanimity, and friendly dispositions, and zeal in the performance of public duty:—and all these things I likewise did, nor can any man point out any of them that, so far as depended on me, was left undone. If, then, it should be asked by what means Philip for the most part succeeded in his operations, every one would answer, By his army, by his largesses, by corrupting those at the

* *οὕτω σκαίος εἰ* is an additional limb of the sentence, but the sense is strictly as given by transposition in the text. *οὕτω σκαίος εἰ* is left out by Francis altogether.

head of affairs. Well, then, I neither had armies, nor did I command them, and therefore the argument respecting military operations cannot touch me. Nay in so far as I was inaccessible to his bribes,—there I conquered Philip! For as he who purchases* any one, overcomes him who has received the price and sold himself, so he who will not take the money, nor consent to be bribed, has conquered the bidder. Thus, as far as I am concerned, this country stands unconquered.

These and such as these, beside many others, are the grounds which I furnished in justification of Ctesiphon's Decree in my favour. What grounds are furnished by you all, I will now proceed to state.

Immediately after the battle, when it would not have been very wonderful if, in the midst of such disasters and alarms, the multitude had manifested some feeling of discontent, still the people knowing, because they had witnessed, all my conduct, began by resolving to adopt all my councils for the safety of the State; and whatever defensive measures were taken, the distribution of the guards, the fosses, the provisions for the wall-repairs, all were ordered according to my

* This simile is very fine and close, provided we make the purchase be of a person—if of a thing, it is not close nor even sensible; and *εἰς ἀγοράν* shows the sense.

Decrees. Then at the election of Superintendant of Grain, the choice of the people fell upon me ; and afterwards when those who were seeking my destruction combined together and pressed against me prosecutions, reckonings, treasonable charges, and all the rest of it, not at first in their own persons, but through those behind whom they thought they might skulk (for you well know and remember, that at first I was nearly every day put upon my trial, and neither the fury of Sosicles, nor the calumnies of Philocrates, nor the phrensy of Diondas and Melanus, nor any other engine, was left untried by the faction against me)—in all these perils, chiefly through the goodness of Heaven, next through you and all the rest of the Athenian people, I was righteously saved. For this is both the real truth, and that conduct was becoming Judges who had sworn to do justice,* and who knew how to keep their oath. When therefore on my trial for treason you acquitted me,† and did not give my prosecutors a fifth of the votes, you decided that my conduct had been unexceptionable. When I was acquitted of Illegally Propounding, I was proved to have both advised and to have

* *εὐνοκα γνωριτες*. Wolff's "religio pronunciaret" is not at all clear.

† That is during the period that immediately followed the Battle.

propounded according to law. When you countersigned* the discharge of my accounts, you further admitted† that I had acted in all respects honestly and incorruptibly.

Such being the state of the case, what appellation was it fit, what was it just, that Ctesiphon should apply to my conduct? What but that which he saw the people give it? What but that which he saw the sworn judges give it? What but that which all firmly believed to be the truth? Ay, but, says Æschines, that was a fine boast of Cephalus that he never had to defend himself against any charge;‡ and truly it was

* *επισημαινησθε* — Francis “audited;” Dawson, “passed;” Leland, “passed and approved;” Wolff, “*rationum actiones obsignaretis* :” this is good and literal, and answers to countersign.

† *προσωμολογεῖτε*, confessed over and above. The force of the *προς* is not given by Leland saying “authentically”—or Dawson, “freed from all suspicion”—or Francis, “gave public testimony.” Wolff, to leave it out, has merely “*confitebamini*.”

‡ This is a passage of much delicacy and beauty in the diction. The translators in general give rather the result, or inference, than the meaning of Cephalus’ saying—*το μηδεμιαν γραφην φυγειν*—literally, to escape from no charge—never to have been even acquitted—*i. e.* that it is better not to have had occasion for an acquittal—and unless the words are given nearly as in the Greek, the paradox or epigram of the saying is gone, though certainly *φυγειν* is “to be a defendant.” Francis, “The glory of Cephalus that he never was indicted.” Dawson, “never once had an accusa-

a lucky boast as well as a fine one. But he who has often been accused and never once convicted of any wrong-doing, how should he the rather on that account be with any justice held liable to reproach? But in truth, Athenians, it is for me to use against* Æschines this fine saying of Cephalus. For never did he himself either institute or prosecute any charge against me; so that by his own confession I am in no respect a worse citizen than Cephalus.

From every quarter then may we deduce the proofs of his unfairness and spite; but not the least from what he has argued about fortune. I hold any one to be utterly senseless and barbarous, who, being himself a man, can upbraid any of his fellow men with human misfortunes; for seeing that he who fancies himself most prosperous and Fortune to be most kind, knows not that she will continue such

tion preferred against him." Leland, "never had occasion to be acquitted"—and this is better; but still the delicacy of the original escapes. Wolff gives the *καλον* better, making it the boast or saying of Cephalus, which none of the others do; but the thing still is not rendered by "nullius in reum fieri criminis." Cephalus said it in answer to others who were boasting of acquittals.

* *προς γε τουτον*. This is wholly lost by Leland and the others, who only paraphrase and lose the force of the Greek.

*until the evening of the same day, how dares he speak of Fortune, or how upbraid another with her frowns? But since Æschines has, beside many other such things, spoken so proudly on this point also, mark, Athenians, and you will perceive how much more true and more becoming a man will be my language than his. † I hold, indeed, the Fortune of this country to be favourable; I see the Dodonean oracle of Jupiter and the Pythian of Apollo thus predicting; but I also see that the fortunes of all individuals in this crisis are precarious and disastrous; for which of the Greeks or which of the Barbarians has not in these times ex-

* As the ellipsis here must be supplied, there is a temptation to introduce our common phrase, "that Fortune shall smile on him," &c. Francis, "boast of her favours." Dawson, "forsaken by her" (having "smiles and frowns" before). Leland, without personification, says, "it" (fortune) "may remain unchanged even for a day," losing the picturesque expression of "the same evening."

† The whole of this passage upon Fortune seems inferior to the general style of Δ. But it must be remembered that fortune and merit were confounded together by the ancient morality. They deified Fortune, and thus made it a merit to be in her good graces, and a shame to be out of them. *Felix* was a praise of their sovereigns. Juvenal alludes to this in the well-known lines, *Nullum numen*, &c. In this passage there is little personification in the Greek, *αριστην* being the only word of the kind.

perienced many and great reverses? Thus our having chosen as a community the more glorious part, and our now being in a better condition* than those other States which thought to secure their own prosperity by casting us off, I reckon part of the good fortune of this country. That, however, we have sometimes failed, and that things have not always gone with us as we wished, I only regard as this country receiving back her due share of the fortune of other men. But my own particular fortune and that of each one individual among us ought, I conceive, to be judged of by observing our own particular condition. Such are my notions concerning fortune, and they appear to me right and just, as they will, I think, also appear to you. But Æschines contends that my individual fortune is greater than that of the community at large; the small and the mean than the great and the important. How can it be so? If, Æschines, you are resolved to examine my fortune, view it in comparison with your own; and should you find mine is better than yours, pause before you inveigh against it. Observe it now from the very

* *αμεινον πραττειν*. Francis, "received better terms from the conqueror." This would have been a most offensive complaint, and given the Athenians little advantage over the other Greeks. Dawson, "in a better condition." Leland, "more prosperous." Wolff, "*feliciores sumus*;" literally, "be better off," or "do better."

first, and, by Heavens! let no one condemn me for folly;* for I deem no one of sound mind who either insults poverty, or, brought up in affluence, makes wealth his boast. But I am driven by this hard-hearted man's railings and slanders to touch upon such topics, which I shall handle as temperately as I can and as the subject will allow.

It was my lot then, Æschines, when a boy, to frequent the schools suited to my station, and to have wherewithal to avoid doing anything mean through want.† When I emerged from boyhood, I did as was consistent with my origin; filled the office of Choregus, furnished galleys,

* *ψυχροτητα*. Francis, "meaning anything offensive." Dawson, "absurdity"—and in a note he gives "*frigiditas*," and quotes Horace's joke on Empedocles, "*frigidus Ætnam insiluit*." Leland, "betraying indications of a low mind." It is "benumbed or stupefied faculties," most likely; though it may be low, vulgar-minded. Wolff, "ineptire." Some read *αὐχρουργα*. Stock, "*insalsitatis*."

† Francis seems here to be stricken with *ψυχροτης* mentioned in the last note; for he says, "affluence which alone can preserve us from the necessity of committing any base or dishonourable action." This is really as near as may be what *Δ in loco* does *not* mean to say. So Francis afterwards makes him speak of the generous education "which he had received." Dawson also makes him speak of "the generosity" of his education. Leland only has "liberal." *Δ* speaks of only being above want, and having had an education suitable to such circumstances.

contributed to the revenue, and was wanting in no acts of munificence, public or private, but ready to aid both my country and my friends. When I entered into public life, I deemed it proper to choose the course which led to my being repeatedly crowned both by this country and the other Greek states, so that not even you, my enemies, will now venture to pronounce the part I took other than honourable. Such then were my fortunes; I pass over many other particulars respecting them, that I may avoid giving offence to any one* by referring to what I glory in.

But you, venerable† man, who look‡ down upon others, see what kind of fortunes were yours compared with mine! Brought up from your boyhood in abject poverty, you both were helper in your father's school, and you ground the ink, sponged the forms, and swept the room, doing the work of a household slave, not of a freeborn youth. When grown up, you recited your mother's books as she performed her mysteries,

* This seems a plain hit at his enemies and those of the country.

† *σεμρος*. This may be glorious, illustrious, great. Stock, "gravis." Wolff, "præclare." Dawson, "most worthy." Francis, "illustrious mortal." Leland, "thou man of dignity." "Chaste" or "pure" is one of the meanings, but not probably in this place.

‡ *καταπτυνεις*—Spit down—we say, "look down;" really meaning much the same thing.

and you helped in her other trickeries. At night, dressed like a bacchanal, and draining the goblet, and purifying the initiated, and rubbing them with clay and with bran, rising from the lustration, you ordered them to cry, "I've fled the evil; I've found the good;"* bragging that none ever roared so loud before; and truly I believe it; for do not doubt that he who now speaks out so lustily, did not then howl most splendidly. But by day heading those fine companies along the highways, crowned with haybands and with herbs, and squeezing Parian snakes and brandishing them over your head; bellowing, *Euöe Saboe*, and dancing to the tune *Hyes Attes, Attes Hyes*, you were saluted by the poor old women as leader, and forerunner, and basket-bearer, and link-bearer, and the like, and received as wages for these offices cakes, and chains, and new-baked bread—on all which, Athenians, who but would heartily congratulate him and his fortune? Afterwards, when you came to be enrolled among the members of your township some how or other, I pass that over, but when you were enrolled, you very soon chose out for yourself a most noble employment, that of clerk and servant to the city officers. Then quitting after a time

* The Greek having no verse at all, why Francis should volunteer two very indifferent lines seems unaccountable. They are, as Dawson observes, words used in the feasts, referring to acorns and bread, in honour of Ceres.

this employment also, and doing everything yourself of which you accuse others, God knows, your subsequent life was no way unworthy of its beginning; but hiring yourself out to those players called Ranters, Simylus and Socrates, you acted third-rate characters, and collecting grapes and figs, and olives, which you were pelted withal, like a fruiterer in other people's orchards,* you received in these performances more blows than are given in games performed with risk of life. For there was between the audience and yourself an implacable† and unceasing warfare, in which, having received many wounds, you naturally enough laugh at those as cowards who are unacquainted with such dangers.

But passing over these things, which may be

* This is an obscure passage, perhaps the most so in the oration, and the purity of the text is also doubtful. Translators have felt the little connexion of the fruit with the play-acting, and hence put in "on your strolling excursions," or some such phrases. But the difficulty lies in the words ὡς περ ὀπωρώνης ἐκείνος. In some MSS. the ἐκείνος one.

is omitted. The sense given in the text seems the true

† These words are fine and expressive applied to a war, ἀσπονδός, without treaty, ἀεργυκτός, where no herald proclaims a truce; for that here is the sense, and not its other meaning, of a war not proclaimed by a herald formally. Francis, "implacable and irreconcilable." Leland same. Dawson, "cruel and irreconcilable." Stock, "internecinum et implacabile." Wolff, "implacabile et perpetuum."

ascribed to poverty, I come to the charges that apply to your life and conversation. You chose, then, that line of policy, (ever since the plan struck your mind,) by which, as long as the country flourished, you led the life of the hare,* frightened, and trembling, and perpetually expecting the scourge for the offences of which you were conscious; but when all others were suffering, you were seen in high spirits by all. But he who was so cheerful after the death of thousands of his fellow-citizens, what does he deserve to suffer at the hands of the survivors? But though I have many other passages of his history to recount, I will omit them all. For I do not consider myself obliged to state in detail all his scandalous and disgraceful acts, but such only as I may cite without disgracing myself. Draw then the parallel between your life and mine, Æschines, quietly and not acrimoniously; and demand of this audience which of the two each of them had rather choose for his own. You was an usher,—I a scholar; you were an initiator,—I was initiated;† you danced at the

* Why Dawson should be seized with a fit of squeamishness and not venture upon the word *hare* is strange;—"the most fearful of all creatures;" and then a note is given to say how naturalists have remarked this quality in the hare, and that it sleeps with its eyes open.

† Francis gets rid of the rapidity as well as of the antithesis here—the two great qualities of Δ , and for indulging

games—I presided over them; you was a clerk of the Assembly, I a member; you, a third-rate actor, I a spectator; you were constantly breaking down—I always hissing you;* your measures were all in the enemy's favour—mine always in the country's; and, in a word, now on this day the question as to me is whether or not I shall be crowned, while nothing whatever is alleged against my integrity; while it is your lot to appear already as a calumniator, and the choice of evils before you is that of still continuing your trade, or being put to silence by failing to obtain a fifth of the votes.

Most happy (don't you perceive?) has been the fortune of your life, so that you may well speak contemptuously of mine. Come, then! I will run over all the testimonies of the offices which I administered; but do you, Æschines, also recite to us the verses you used to murder—

“Quitting the gates of darkness, lo, I come!”
and again,

“Reluctantly I bear bad news, ye know!”
and then

“May curses light——”

the latter of which too much the Athenian hypercritics took him to task (Athen. ἀντιθετον τι). Thus Francis translates *ετελεις, εγω δ' ετελουμεν*, “you initiated others in the lowest mysteries of our religion, I was initiated into the most solemn.”

* The tense here clearly denotes a constant recurrence.

Yes,—and first of all upon yourself, abandoned citizen, traitor, third-rate actor, first upon you may the Gods, and then this whole assembly, bring destruction ! Read the Testimonies.

DEPOSITIONS.

Such then was my conduct towards the country. As to my private life, if all of you are not aware that I was accessible, and kindly, and ready to help all who asked my aid, I have done, nor will add one word, nor bring forward any evidence upon the subject, nor speak of captives in war redeemed, nor of daughters portioned, nor of any other acts like these. For my notion is this ; that he who has received a kindness should remember it for ever, and he who has conferred it should instantly forget it, if the former would bear the character of a good man, and the latter avoid that of a paltry spirit. But to bear in mind one's own good deeds and talk of them, is much the same with upbraiding those that benefited by them. Therefore I will do nothing of the kind, nor go into the subject at all, but rest content with whatever estimation I enjoy in this respect.

But passing over my private concerns, I am still disposed to say somewhat upon those of the community. So if, Æschines, you can name

any mortal under the sun, untarnished by the tyranny, first of Philip and now of Alexander, be he Greek, or be he Barbarian—then be it so—I will grant you that my fortune, or my ill luck,* if you please so to call it, is the cause of all that has happened. But if of those who never set eyes on me nor heard the sound of my voice, many have suffered much and grievous evil, not only individuals but whole cities and nations, how much more just and correct is it according to the probability of the case, to regard the common lot of humanity, or some force of circumstances, untoward and difficult to resist, as the origin of these calamities? You, however, disregard all those, throw the blame upon me, called upon as I was to carry on the government in such

* φοραν χαλεπην και ουχ' οϊαν εδει. This is, in the various editions of Δ, joined with και to the preceding substantive. There seems little doubt that it should be η. The φοραν means clearly a "rush," a "movement, a force;" and χαλεπην is best rendered by "hard to resist." The other words constitute "unfavourable," or "inopportune." Wolff, "impetum gravem et alium quam oporteret." Stock, "concursum sævum atque infaustum." Dawson, "general hard fate of all mankind, and the terrible confusion of all affairs," of which the former is a complete mistranslation by transposing χαλεπην to τυχην, and making it nonsense; and the latter is as wide of the mark as may be. Leland is very prolix, but gives the sense, "that torrent of unhappy events which bear down upon us with an irresistible violence."

a crisis ; and this, though you well knew that if not the whole, at least a part of the reprobation is due to the community at large, but principally to yourself. For if I had counselled the State with full and absolute powers, your other orators would have had some right to accuse me. But if you were yourselves always present in all the public assemblies—if the State publicly propounded for discussion the course fit to be pursued—if what was done appeared to all, but chiefly to you, the most expedient—(for it was through no good will towards me that you allowed me to enjoy all the hopes and admiration and honours that waited on my measures at this time, but manifestly because you were overpowered by the truth and had nothing better to propose)—are you not now unjust and outrageous* in crying out against measures than which you then knew none better ?

Among all other men I observe these principles and these distinctions to prevail. Does any one wilfully do wrong ? He is the object of indignation and of punishment. Does any one commit an error unintentionally ? He is

* *δαινα ποιητής*, "iniquus;" but this falls short—beside being included in *ἀδικητής*. Stock, "improbe"—Leland, "highly cruel."—Dawson gives the whole thus, and very badly—"the most flagrant injustice, and inexcusable baseness."

pardoned, not punished. Has one who neither does any wrong nor commits any error devoted himself to a course which to all appeared expedient, and has he been in common with all disappointed of success? It is not fair to reprobate or to attack him, but to condole with him. All this is established not only in all our jurisprudence, but by Nature herself in her unwritten laws, and in the very constitution of the human mind.* Thus has Æschines so far surpassed all other men in cruelty and calumny, that those same things which he enumerates as misfortunes he also imputes to me as crimes.† And not to men-

* ἀγραφοῖς νομοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώπινους ἡθεσι. This remarkable passage, resembling the Roman, rather than the Attic manner, gave rise probably to that noble expression of it by Cicero, so well known to scholars, and indeed to almost all men: "Non enim scripta, sed nata lex, &c." The latter part of the phrase is literally, human customs, habits, or ways of thinking; but it means such as are innate by φύσις preceding; and therefore the text renders it literally enough. Wolff, "institutis non scriptis et moribus humanis." Stock, "legibus non scriptis et hominum moribus," in which νομοῖς and νομοίς, which precede, are rendered improperly by the same word; νομιμον is, properly speaking, customary or common law. Dawson as badly as possible, "the everlasting dictates of Nature herself expressed in the universal consent and practice of mankind." Leland, not much better, though shorter, indeed too elliptical — "the unwritten precepts of humanity."

† κατηγορεῖ must be here rendered by adding "as

tion other things, as if he had himself always spoken candidly and with all kindness, he desired you to keep a watch upon me and to beware of me lest I should circumvent or beguile you, calling me fair spoken,* and canting, and sophistical, and the like; as if when a man by anticipation says of another what applies to himself, it must stick to him, without the audience even so much as asking who and what the person is who thus speaks. But I well know that you all know him well, and are aware how much more applicable these terms are to him than to me; and this also I know full well, that my eloquence, (for so be it,† although I observe, that for the most

crimes," else the antithesis in our language would be entirely lost. The composition of this whole passage begins, "Among all men," *παρὰ μὲν τούτων*, is truly admirable—so concise, so close, so full withal—it deserves to be studied word by word, and the bearing upon the case is perfect. Any version of such a passage *must* fail; but it can never be kept too literal:—yet the English translators make it a scene of paraphrase and prolixity.

* *δαίμων* is probably not here eloquent, but fair spoken. Francis, "terrible impostor." Now, either he must take the original meaning, "terrible," or the translated one, "cunning"—both he cannot take. Dawson's "powerful speaker" is not so wide of the mark. Wolff, "*veteratorem*." Stock, "*callidum*." Leland, "vehement declaimer." Leland is very vague and paraphrastical in this passage throughout.

† Francis, in translating *εἶρω*, really puts into Δ's mouth an admission which is quite monstrous. "My eloquence

part the audience is master of the speaker's powers, since it is only according to the reception you give him and the favour you show him, that any speaker passes for skilful)—but if I possess any such skill you will all find it was employed in public offices for your benefit, never against you, nor for my personal advantage; while his eloquence, on the contrary, has been bestowed not only in behalf of your enemies, but also in impeaching whoever vexed him or offended him personally. He never uses it honestly for the benefit of his country—for it cannot surely be the part of a true patriot to endeavour that his private anger, or enmity, or other personal feeling, should be adopted and acted upon by those judges who are called to discharge a public duty; nor ought he to come before you for any such purpose. It were far better that his nature should be alien from such feelings; but if it must be so, then ought he to mitigate and moderate their danger.

In what circumstances then ought a statesman and an orator to be vehement? When the State is in jeopardy upon the ruin of affairs

(for I must allow the charge);" all that Δ says is, *δεινότης* (*εστῶ, γὰρ*), whence *δεινότης* may be, and probably is, in the bad sense already given. Dawson, though roundabout, is far more tolerable—"My eloquence, such as it is (for since he will have it so, I submit to the charge)."

—when the people are in conflict with the enemy—then it is that the strenuous and patriotic citizen appears.* But when Æschines cannot pretend to have any ground whatever for even charging me with any offence in public life, or, I will add, in private, either in the name of the country or his own—for him to come forward with a vamped up attack on my crowning and my honours, and to waste so many words upon this subject, is the working of personal spite and envy, and a little mind,† and shows no good man. Then this proceeding of leaving his controversy with me out of the question, and attacking Ctesiphon, comprises everything that is base.‡

To me indeed, Æschines, it appears from these speeches of yours, as if you had instituted this impeachment through a desire of making a display of vociferation, not of punishing any one's misconduct. For it is not the speech of the orator, Æschines, that avails, nor yet the compass of his voice, but his feeling in unison with the com-

* This cannot literally be rendered as in the Greek, viz., “in those circumstances—for these are the circumstances of a strenuous and good citizen;” that is, they try, or test, or bring out, or require the exertions of such a one.

† This topic again recurred to.

‡ This other once more pressed, because, after the brilliant declamation that precedes, it was sure to be doubly effective.

munity and bearing enmity or affection towards them whom his country loves or hates. He that thus possesses his soul* speaks ever with right feeling. But he that bows to those from whom the country has danger to apprehend, does not anchor in the same roadstead with the people; accordingly he does not look for safety from the same quarter. But mark me, I do: for I have always made common cause with the people, nor have I ever taken any course for my peculiar and individual interest. Can you say as much? Then how?—You, who, instantly after the battle, went on the embassy to Philip, the cause of all that in these times befel your country; and that after refusing the office at all former periods, as every one knows?—But who deceives the country? Is it not he that says one thing and thinks another? And who is he upon whom at every assembly solemn execration is proclaimed? Is it not such a man as this? What worse charge can any one bring against an orator than that his words and his sentiments do not tally? Yet you have been discovered to be such a man; and you still lift your voice and dare to look this assembly in the face!† Think you they do not know you

* οὕτως εχων την ψυχην. The text gives this literally, but idiomatically. Francis, "Whose soul is thus affected."

† Wolff's habitual abstinence is here broken in upon. He has for βλεπειν προσωπα, vultum atque ora intueri.

for what you are?* or that such a slumber and oblivion has come over them all as to make them forget the speeches you declaimed before the people, swearing and imprecating on yourself if you ever had any kind of dealings with Philip, and that I falsely made this charge upon you from personal enmity? But no sooner came the news of the battle than, forgetting all this, you at once confessed and even† affected being Philip's friend and guest, changing into such names as these your contract of hiring with him. For by what footing of equality, or by what pretext of title, Æschines, could Philip be the host, or the friend, or even the acquaintance, of Glaucotea the tambourine player's son? I can see none. But you were his hireling to ruin the interests of this nation. Yet when you are detected by the people as a traitor, and have become informer against yourself since the issue of the contest, you must needs attack me, and

* ὅστις εἶ. Francis, "What a villain thou art!"—as if there was any occasion for lending abusive terms to Δ.

† ὁμολογεῖς καὶ προσποιεῖς, "confessed," or "avowed," or "admitted and put forward," or "pretended," or "affected," it may be "proclaimed," but "affectedly confessed," gives the sense best; or more literally (but which means the same thing) "confessed and affected." Wolff "præ te ferebas." Stock, same. Dawson's "threw off the mask" is excellent. Leland has "affected," but gives the rest most paraphrastically.

upbraid me for these events, for which you will find all others much more to blame than I.*

Many great and glorious achievements, Æschines, has the country both undertaken and prosperously conducted through my councils; and of these she is not unmindful: witness the people selecting me to make the oration upon those who fell, the very moment after the catastrophe,—not you, though you were proposed, how fine soever your voice; nor Demades, though he had just made the peace; nor Hegemon, nor any other of you all—but me. And when you stood forward with Pythocles, cruelly and shamefully—good heavens!—to charge me as you now do, and to run me down, yet so much the more did they choose me. The reason of

* Here is the same leading topic once more introduced; but introduced after new topics and fresh illustrations. The repetitions, the enforcement again and again of the same points, are a distinguishing feature of Δ , and formed also one of the characteristics of Mr. Fox's great eloquence. The ancient, however, was incomparably more felicitous in this than the modern; for in the latter it often arose from carelessness, from ill-arranged discourse, from want of giving due attention, and from having once or twice attempted the topic and forgotten it, or perhaps from having failed to produce the desired effect. Now in Δ this is never the case: the early allusions to the subject of the repetition are always perfect in themselves, and would sufficiently have enforced the topic, had they stood alone. But new matter afterwards handled gave the topic new force and fresh illustration, by presenting the point in a new light.

this, though you are not ignorant of it, I will nevertheless tell you. The people were aware of two things,—the patriotism and zeal with which I had carried on their affairs, and your guilt; for those things, which, when our affairs prospered, you all denied with oaths, you confessed as soon as the State was unfortunate; and men concluded that they who obtained from the public calamities impunity for their councils had all along been secret enemies of the country and now were openly avowed ones. They thought it, moreover, unbecoming that he who made the oration over the deceased warriors, and extolled their merits, should be one who had sat under the same roof,* and drunk of the same cup with those who had stood against them in battle array; or that they who in Macedon had revelled and sung songs of triumph on the disasters of Greece with the perpetrators of the slaughter,†

* *ὁμωροφίον—ὁμοσπονδον*—"under the same roof—making the same libations." Francis, "dwelt under the same roof, and made the same libations of hospitality and religion." Dawson, "bosom friends and intimate acquaintances." Leland, "conversed in strict connexion with," which is really to get out of the way as the difficulty approaches. Wolff, "*sub eodem tecto fuissent—eadem sacra libassent.*"

† Francis, "whose hands were drenched in the slaughter of their fellow-citizens," which proximity, introducing "fellow-citizens," loses the whole point; namely, that it was

should on their return be received with honour ; or that the calamity should be deplored by those who counterfeited tears, but by such as grieved in their hearts. This the people saw in themselves and in me, but not in any of you ; and therefore they made choice of me and not of you. Nor when they thus acted, did the parents and brethren of the slain, chosen to conduct the funeral obsequies, do otherwise ; for when the funeral feast was to be given, they held it at my house, as though I were, according to the usage in such cases, nearest in kindred to the deceased. And most properly ; for though they were each of themselves* more nearly related to some of the deceased by blood, no one could be more closely allied to them all than I was , since he whom it most concerned that the warriors should be

the slaughter of the persons to be commemorated, and therefore like the murderer pronouncing the funeral oration of his victim.

* *ἑκάστος ἑκάστῳ* can hardly be as literally "each to each." Francis has it, "Nay, each of you, separately, was more nearly related in blood to each of the deceased," which is stark nonsense, beside changing the pronoun from *them*, the families, to *you*, the people. Dawson is better—"every one was more nearly related to some one or other amongst them." Leland also takes this more sensible course. Wolff, "*ipsi inter se*." Stock, "*singuli singulis*," which may well do—being nearly the same with Leland and Dawson, and not wide of the Greek text ; as in law we say, "*reddendo singula singulis*;" in geometry, "each to each."

unscathed and victorious, he had the greatest share of the grief to bear when they suffered what, would to heaven! had never befallen them. But read here the Epitaph which the State judged it fit to inscribe on their monument, that you, Æschines, may see yourself in it unjust, calumnious, and profligate. Read!

“These were the brave, unknowing how to yield,
Who, terrible in valour, kept the field
Against the foe; and higher than life’s breath
Prizing their honour, met the doom of death,
Our common doom—that Greece unyoked might stand,
Nor shuddering crouch beneath a tyrant’s hand.
Such was the will of Jove; and now they rest
Peaceful enfolded in their Country’s breast.
The Immortal Gods alone are ever great,
And erring mortals must submit to Fate.”

Do you hear, Æschines, even in this very inscription, that “The Immortal Gods alone are ever great?” Not to the statesman does it ascribe the power of bestowing success upon armies, but to the Gods. Wherefore, then, accursed wretch, upbraid me with what has happened, and with things, which may those Gods turn against the heads of you and yours!

Although, however, Athenians, he has brought many other charges against me, and made many false statements, yet have I chiefly marvelled at one thing, that while he made mention of those calamities which have befallen the country, he never felt like a patriot and a good citizen,

nor shed tears, nor suffered any affection approaching to tears; but raising his voice, and exulting, and vociferating,* fancied, forsooth, he was accusing me when he was only showing that he did not feel as all other men felt upon the public misfortunes. And yet the man who affects a deep concern for our laws and constitution, as Æschines now does, ought, if he has no other quality, at least to have the fellow feeling with the people of sorrowing and rejoicing over the same events, and not pursue that line of policy which must make him take part with the enemy, as you, Æschines, are now clearly proved to have done, while you pretend that every thing is owing to me, and that through me the country has been brought to its present condition, instead of admitting that she first began to succour all Greece through my policy and my measures. For if, Athenians, you were

* λαρυγγίζων. Francis, "clamorously distending his throat." Dawson, "clamorously insulting you." Leland, "strained and swelled." The word is very expressive. Wolff, "faucibus resonans." Stock, "gulam dilatans." The literal meaning is to strain the throat or wind-pipe.—This is properly the commencement of the magnificent peroration, of which no part is finer than the earlier portion, both in sense, in diction, and in rhythm. The recapitulation and enforcement of all the main topics of the orator, with new and exquisite beauties, and even fresh topics, is deeply to be considered, and never can be enough admired.

only to grant me this, that I was the cause of your resisting the domination which was preparing for the Greeks, a far greater gift would be conferred upon me than all you have bestowed upon others. But this I will not assert, for it would be doing you injustice, nor would you, I well know, admit it; and Æschines himself, if he acted with any fairness, would not, even through hostility towards me, thus tarnish and destroy * the greatest of all your glories.

But why do I dwell on such things, when he made so many other charges, and asserted so many other falsehoods far worse than these? For he who could—gracious God!—accuse me of Philip-pising,† what will he not say? But, by all the

* *εἰλαπτεν καὶ διαβάλλεν*. Francis is here bad, "wounded your reputation or calumniated your fairest annals." Dawson must needs leave out half, and then lend Δ a figure—an antithesis too—"blacken those means which you were of opinion had shed new lustre on your ancient glory"—an accommodation which Δ assuredly never stood less in need of than here. Leland's "disgrace and deny" is insufficient. The words literally are "wound and tear to pieces, or run down." Perhaps "wound and tear away" might do; but the version adopted in the text is literal enough, and it is according to our idiomatic collocation.

† *φιλιππισμον*. This cant word was like our "Jacobinism," and also "Gallican" and "Anti-Gallican." Francis feebly gives it, "supporting the interests of Philip." Leland, "favouring Philip." Dawson, "being Philip's creatures,"

Powers of Heaven, if we are to regard the truth, and lay aside all falsehood and personal slander, it will be found that they on whose heads should truly and justly fall by common consent the blame of causing these events resemble him and his party in each state and not me—men who, when Philip's power was feeble and his influence small, while we, repeatedly warning, and exhorting, and inculcating the soundest views, sacrificed the public interests for lucre of gain,* each deceiving and corrupting his own countrymen until they made all of them slaves:—Daochus, Cinēas, Thrasidæus, the Thessalians; Cercidas, Hieronymus, Eucalpidas, the Arcadians; Myrtis, Teladamus, Mnaseas, the Argives; Euxitheus, Cleotimus, Aristæchmus, the Eleans; the sons of Philides, a man hateful to the Gods, Neon, and Thrasylochus, the Messenians; Aristratus, Epichares, the Sicyonians; Dinarchus, Demaratus, the Corinthians; Ptæodorus, Helixus, Perilaus, the Megareans; Timolaus, Theogiton, Anemætas, the Thebans; which is better. Wolff, "Philippi studium." Surely the meaning cannot well be given without coining a word as the Greeks did.

* *αισχροκερδεια*. "Lucre of gain" has become, from Scripture, a common idiomatic expression—though its structure is not very sensible. It perfectly expresses the sordid quality finely given in the Greek.

Hipparchus, Clitarchus, Sosistratus, the Eubœans. The day would fail me were I to recall the names of all the traitors. Those are they, Men of Athens, whose councils have been each in his own country like those of our adversaries here—base and fawning creatures, wretches who have mutilated the glory each of his own native land, toasting away their liberties to the health, first of Philip, then of Alexander;* measuring their happiness by their gluttony and debauchery, but utterly overthrowing those rights of freemen, and that independence of any master which the Greeks of former days regarded as the test and the summit† of all felicity.

This disgraceful and notorious conspiracy

* *πεπωκότες προτερον Φιλίππῳ, νυν δ' Ἀλεξανδρῳ.* The text is literal, and the fine expression of the original is preserved. The Frenchman feels its beauty, but says, unable to render it, "I have substituted another figure!" So he leaves out Alexander, and also Δ's figure, and says, "*assis à la table de Philippe, la coupe à la main, lui vendoient la liberté publique.*" This is too much. Wolff, "*Propinantes.*" Leland, "tendering to Philip with a wanton indifference."

† *ὅροι καὶ κανόνες*, literally "the boundaries and rules;" but "boundary" or "limit," may well mean "height" or "summit," and "test" is quite sufficiently near "rule" or "canon." This is a noble burst—*αλαστορες*, in most codices, is given as part of the epithets applied at first and unconnected with what follows; but the joining it with *ηκρωτηριασμενοι* saves the introduction of "men," or "persons."

and wickedness, then,—but rather, Athenians, let us say, if we would not trifle with the subject,—this betraying of the liberties of Greece, can, by the common consent of all mankind, neither be charged upon the State, which followed my counsels, nor upon me in your estimation. Then you ask what is my title to public honours? I will tell you.* It is, that while the statesmen of Greece, beginning with yourself, *Æschines*, were all corrupted—first by Philip and then by Alexander—over me neither opportunity, nor fair speeches, nor lavish promises, nor hopes, nor fears, nor favours, nor any other earthly consideration ever prevailed, seducing or driving me to betray in any one particular what I deemed the rights and the interests of my country. Never did I, like you, and such as you, incline my councils as if weighed in a balance towards the side that paid the best; but my whole conduct was formed by a righteous, and just, and incorruptible soul; and having borne the most forward part among the men of my times in administering the mightiest

* There are few finer passages, even in Δ , than this. The rapidity and force are astonishing; its effect, in the noble language of the original, must have been prodigious; but it would have wonderful power in any tongue, and before any audience, from the multitude up to the Senate.

affairs, my whole policy has ever been sound, and honest, and open. For these things I claim to be honoured.

* But this repair of the walls and the fosses which you revile, I deem to merit favour and commendation : wherefore should I not ? Yet, I certainly place this far below my administration of public affairs. For I have not fortified Athens with stone walls and tiled roofs : no, not I ! Neither is it on deeds like these that I plume myself. But would you justly estimate my outworks, you will find armaments, and cities, and settlements, and harbours, and fleets, and cavalry, and armies raised to defend us :—these are the defences that I drew around Attica,

* The fame of this noble passage is great and universal. It is of a beauty and force made for all times and all places : its effect with us may be imagined by supposing Mr. Pitt to have been attacked for his Martello towers, the use of which was far more doubtful than Δ's *τειχισμος* and *ταφρεα*, and to have indignantly and proudly appealed to the other services he had rendered, and the other outworks he had erected for our internal protection against foreign and domestic enemies. One seems to hear him nobly pour forth his magnificent periods, alike majestic in structure and in tone, upon the “ lines of circumvallation far mightier than any fortress, lines which the energy of a united people, and the wisdom of a British parliament had drawn around our glorious constitution, placing it, in proud security, above all the assaults either of an insulting enemy from without, or a more desperate foe at home,”—and “ desiring that his

as far as human prudence could defend her, and with such outworks as these I fortified the country at large, not the mere circuit of the arsenal and the city! Nor was it I that succumbed to Philip's policy and his arms; very far otherwise! but the captains and the forces of your allies yielded to his fortune. What are the proofs of it? They are manifest and plain, and you shall see them. For what was the part of a patriotic citizen? What the part of him who would serve his country with all earnestness, and zeal, and honesty of purpose? Was it not to cover Attica, on the seaboard with Eubœa—inland with Bœotia—on the Peloponnesus with the adjoining territories? Was it not to provide for making the corn trade secure, that every coast our ships sailed along till they reached the Piræus might be friendly to us? Was it not to save some points of our dominion, such as Preconnesus, the Chersonese, Tenedos, by dispatching succours, and making the necessary statements, and proposing the fit decrees? Was it not to secure from the first the co-

title to the gratitude of his country should be rested on foundations like these, far more imperishable than any works which the hands of man could raise"—Or would he haply have spoken figuratively of "the loftier towers which he had raised in the people's hearts, and the exhaustless magazines of their loyalty and valour?"

operation and alliance of other states, Byzantium, Abydos, Eubœa? Was it not to wrest from the enemy his principal forces? Was it not to supply what this country most wanted? Then all these things were effected by my Decrees, and my measures. All these things, Athenians, if any one chuses to examine the matter without prejudice, he will find both correctly advised by me, and executed with perfect integrity; and that no opportunity* was lost by me, through carelessness, or through ignorance, or through treachery,† nor any thing neglected which it could fall within the power and the wisdom of one man to do. But if the favour of some Deity, or of Fortune, or the remissness of

* Literally, the opportunity for each thing neither omitted, nor unknown, nor betrayed—(οὐ παρεθεῖτα, οὐδ' ἀγνοηθεῖτα, οὐδὲ προδοθεῖτα)—but the structure in the text is evidently both English and literal, though an additional participle is necessarily introduced, from the want of a word answering to *ἀγνοηθεῖς*, or *ignoratus*.

The whole of this rapid summary and recapitulation of his administration is admirable—too short and general for the body of his defence, but perfectly suited to the resumption of it in the peroration, and following the fine burst *οὐ γὰρ λιθοῖς*, with prodigious effect, because showing that the subject of the burst was not a mere figure, a happy antithesis, but a serious statement of facts. This is a quality almost peculiar to Δ's figures, and it is probably one reason why some critics have denied him a figurative style. His figures are facts and reasons as well as figures.

† Wolff omits *ὑγίως*.

commanders, or the wickedness of traitors like you, *Æschines*, in different states, or if all these causes together have embarrassed our whole affairs, and brought them to ruin—wherein has *Demosthenes* been to blame? But if there had been found in any Greek State one man such as I have been in my sphere among you, rather if *Thessaly* had only possessed a single man, and if *Arcadia* had possessed any one of the same principles with me, none of all the Greeks, whether within *Thermopylæ* or without, would have been suffering their present miseries; but all remaining free, and independent, and secure from alarm, would in perfect tranquillity and prosperity have dwelt in their native land, rendering thanks to you and the rest of the Athenian People for so many and such signal blessings conferred on them through me. That you may perceive how much smaller my words are than my works,* through fear of misconstruction, read now and recite the account of the succours sent in pursuance of my Decrees.

* Dawson, with singular infelicity, makes Δ say here, "that I have used expressions far short of the greatness of my actions." Francis is not much happier in his version, "beneath the dignity of my actions." Leland far better, "that I have spoken much less than I could justify by facts." Wolff, "*verbis longe tenuioribus quam pro magnitudine rerum.*" It is indeed an expression for "understating his case."

THE ACCOUNT OF SUCCOURS.

These, and acts like these, Æschines, it is the duty of a patriot to perform, (which, had they proved successful, oh, God! would have placed us beyond all controversy on the summit of power, and without a wrong to any party; but as the event has been different, we have only obtained the glory, and the state and my policy is freed from all blame, Fortune alone being in fault, which has so ordered our affairs)—no, by heaven! never will a patriot* abandon the cause of his country—nor hire himself out to her enemies—nor watch over their interests rather than over her own—nor run down whoever undertakes to inculcate and propound measures worthy of the state, and perseveres in this course—nor record and treasure up whatever private injuries he may have sustained from any one—nor lead a life of criminal and traitorous retirement,† as you are too wont to do. There is, indeed, there is a kind of retirement justifiable and beneficial to

* This is repeated, from the great distance of the relative noun before the long parenthesis.

† *ἡσυχίαν αἰεῖν*. Wolff's "otium" badly renders this. Francis and Dawson have "retirement," and Leland has the same; and possibly his version of *ἀστικόν* and *ὑπουλον*, dishonest and invidious, is not wrong though that in the text seems preferable.

the State; a retirement which the bulk of you, my fellow citizens, honestly * enjoy. But that is very far indeed from being the retirement of this man; keeping aloof from public affairs when he thinks fit (and he oftentimes does think fit), he watches the moment when you are tired of some one who is always addressing you, or when some adverse fortune has befallen us, or some other untoward thing has happened (as will often occur in human concerns); and then, at this juncture, sudden the orator rises from his retirement, like a gust of wind,† and raising his voice, and crowding together words and phrases, rolls them forth, fluently and breathlessly, to no profit of the country, nor the attainment of any good whatever, but to the detriment of individual citizens, and to the disgrace of all. And this concern, Æschines, and this zeal, if it proceeded from a sound heart, and one only anxious for the interests of the country, would bear

* Not making it a cloak for mischief. ἀπλως, literally, *sincerely, simply*.

† This is a very fine simile, and equal to the ὥς περ νεφός, only being less sudden, short, and transient, it is better adapted to spoken discourse. Wolff renders πνευμα "ventus." Stock, "turbo." So Francis, "whirlwind." Dawson, "tempest," which is clearly wrong. Leland, "sudden gust of wind." Perhaps it is better rendered by gust or blast than by wind, ἀνεμος being wind. There seems no reason for "whirlwind," any more than "tempest."

wholesome fruits, and fair to behold, and beneficial to all; alliances with foreign states, supplies of money, establishments of trade, the enactment of useful laws, resistance to open enemies.

All these things were exemplified in past times, and those times afford many exhibitions of the qualities of a perfect patriot; in which exhibitions assuredly you, Æschines, never would have been found, neither first, neither second, nor third, nor fourth nor fifth, nor yet sixth,* nor in any place at all; certainly not when the resources of the state were to be extended. For, what alliance ever accrued to the country of your making? Or what succours, or goodwill, or glory of your gaining? Or what embassy, or what other public functions, whereby the state acquired honour? What domestic affair, or concern of the Greek states, or of strangers, over which you presided, was ever set right through you? What galleys, what armaments, what arsenals, what repairs of the walls, what cavalry? In what one of all these particulars have you ever proved useful? What benefit has ever

* This refers, as is supposed, to an oracle of Apollo, in answer to the question, "What rank the Ægeans held?" The answer was, "Neither third, nor fourth, nor twelfth. You have no character or number at all."

accrued to either rich or poor from your fortunes? None.—“But, hark!”* says some one, “if nothing of all this was done, at least there existed good dispositions and public spirit.” Where? When? you most wicked of men?—you who, when all that ever opened their mouths on the Bema contributed somewhat to the public safety, when at last Aristonicus paid in as a gift the money he had saved for recovering his rank,†—you, who even then neither came forward yourself, nor gave one mite! Not that you were poor. For why? You inherited from your kinsman‡ Philo above five talents; and you received a gift of two talents subscribed by

* ὦ ταν, rendered here by translators *heus*. It is an exclamation, and is put into either the mouth of Æschines or some one else.

† εἰς ἐπιτίμιαν. Reiske, “to support his dignity.” So Francis. Wolff, “ad dignitatem recuperandam.” Dawson says it is “money collected to pay his fine, in case, after being paymaster, he should be mulcted.” If so, we must read τὸν ἐπιτίμιον, or τὰ ἐπιτίμια. But Wolff gives it as real money. It appears that Aristonicus owed a sum to the treasury for some offence, and that he cunningly paid his debt as a patriotic gift, and had his fine remitted. Some, as Ulpian, render it that it was money in his hands belonging to the state, and raised for the public service “to recover their dignity as a nation.” Leland refers it to an advance required as a qualification for office. Perhaps Dawson is right, and that we should read ἐπιτίμιον. Ferri, Lambinus, Perionius are otherwise.

‡ κηλίστον. Francis, “father-in-law.” So Scapula.

the wealthier tax-payers for defeating the naval law. But I shall pass over these things, that I may not be diverted from the main question by going from topic to topic.* Still what I have said already will show that your contributing nothing was not owing to your poverty but to your taking special care nothing you did should ever counteract the schemes of those to whom all your policy was subservient. In what, then, are you bold, and when are you munificent? When any thing is to be urged against your countrymen, then are you most copious of speech—most profuse of money—most rich in memory—a first-rate actor—the Theocrines of the stage!†

* Francis, "multiplying arguments upon arguments." Dawson, "touching on every thing that happens to fall in my way." Leland, "led off from one point to another." Wolff, "aliud ex alio dicendo." It means, "by letting one word or topic suggest another;" *λογον εκ λογου λεγων*.

† Theocrines had been a stage-player, and turned informer; he was often named in reference to the Christians in early times proverbially. Dawson says, "outbluster Theocrines," which is his own figure, not Δ's. Palmer takes it adjectively, "chosen of God;" but this would be *Θιοκριτος*, and then why *πραγμας*? The whole passage here is magnificent—of prodigious force and concision. The ideas are powerful, and the diction perfect. A grand effect is ever produced in oratory by closing a passage with such accumulation of weighty and telling expressions, condensed and powerful. It is a resource of the art far too little drawn upon in our times.

Then do you recount the famous men of other days? * And you do well to praise them. But it is not fair, Athenians, to take advantage of the love you bear the memory of the deceased for the purpose of matching and comparing me with them—me, who am your own contemporary. For which of us all can be unaware that every one living is exposed to more or less of envy, while not even their enemies bear any hatred to the dead? † Such being the nature of men, am I to be judged and tried in reference to those who have gone before me? By no means. It is not just, it is not fair, Æschines; the parallel must be with yourself, and whom else you please, of those that side with you and are still living. And consider again—whether is it more honourable and more for the interest of the country, that, because of the services rendered by our predecessors, prodigious though they

* This refers to the magnificent peroration of Æschines: which would be one of the greatest of all the remains of ancient eloquence, but for the terribly lame conclusion—the last few words. That peroration plainly suggested the oath to Δ, and not, as Longinus supposes, the verses from Euripides: *περι ἡψ.* s. 16.

† This is as observable in modern as in ancient party strifes.—Cicero's supposed answer to Sallust's oration almost translates this fine passage about envy and death. Δ has here copied Thucydides, ii. 45—*φθονος γαρ τοις ζωσι προς τε αντιπαλον το δε μη εμποδων ανανταγωνιστη ευνοια τετιμηται.*

be beyond all power of expression,* we should show ingratitude and detraction towards those of the present day; or that we should show honour and favour to all who have ever done any patriotic deed? And yet, if I must speak out, my measures and policy, when they shall be accurately considered, will appear to resemble those of the men who have been eulogized, and to be pointed towards the same ends, while yours, Æschines, are like those of their calumniators. For it appears that there were in those days persons who ran down the great men† of the age, and praised those that had gone before them; an invidious thing, and the very thing you are now about. Do you say that I in no respect resemble those patriots? Do you then resemble them yourself, Æschines? Or does your brother? Or does any of the orators of these times? I deny it altogether. But with the living, most worthy person (I say no more), compare the living and those who belong to the same depart-

* οὐσας ὑπερμεγεθεις οὐμενουν ειποι τις ἀν ἡλικις. Wolff, "quæ sunt immensa quorum utique magnitudo verbis exprimi non potest." Leland, "great and exalted as they are, beyond all expression great." This is not translating; nor is it translating to add a whole figure, "making the benefits received from our ancestors a pretence for," &c.

† The ambiguity of οὗτοι and τουτους here, as elsewhere, renders it necessary to introduce a word.

ment, as we do in every thing else—poets, singers, wrestlers. Philammon did not leave the Olympic games uncrowned because he was inferior to Glaucus of Carystus,* and other wrestlers of a former age, but because he overcame all who appeared against him he was crowned and proclaimed conqueror. Compare me thus with the present race of statesmen, with yourself, with whomsoever you please of them all, I will yield to none; men among whom, while it was possible to preserve the best interests of the country, while the contest of patriotism was open to us all, I was seen giving the soundest counsels, and every thing was ordered by my decrees, and my laws and my negotiations. But of all your party there was not one that ever appeared in any way, unless when some affront was to be put upon the people;† yet when that event‡ happened, which would to Heaven we had been spared, and when men were wanted, not to counsel, but

* This Glaucus, having been a ploughboy, once knocked in the coulter with his fist. Being taken by his father to the Games, for want of skill he was nearly beaten; when his father cried out, "Treat him like the coulter," on which he felled his antagonist to the ground.

† ἐνρηπασαι. Francis, "distress the country." Dawson, "criticise and cavil." Leland, "vent his insolence." Wolff, "insultandum."

‡ Chæronea.

to do as they might be ordered, and eagerly to exert themselves against the country, and to play the willing parasite to others, then it was that you and each of your party became flourishing, and wealthy, and attended with equipages,* while I was feeble, I confess it, but far more devoted than you to this People!

Two qualities,† men of Athens, every citizen‡ of ordinary worth ought to possess (I shall be able

* *ἵπποτροφοί*. Keepers of horses, or equipage. Francis, "pomp of equipage." Dawson, "fine horses and magnificent equipages." Why both? Leland has "equipages," but he puts three other words instead of Δ's two, namely, "magnificence, state, and splendour." Wolff, "*equos splendide alebat*."

† It does not very distinctly appear that he enumerates two qualities; for though we have first the official course, and then the general zeal in all situations, yet the same verb governs both, *φυλαττεῖν*, and it comes after another, *εἶναι*, applied to the *ἑνὸς*; and moreover, the word which connects the preceding sentence with natural disposition, *φύσις*, is in the singular, *τουτοῦ*, as if only one quality had been mentioned; and there seems no reason for confining the distinction between nature and fortune to the latter of the two things, *ἐννοία*. An orator in our careless times sometimes forgets the scheme he had laid down, or the matters he had promised to touch. This never can be imputed to Δ, and we must therefore suppose the two to be enumerated.

‡ *μετριον*. Francis, "however moderate his abilities." This is nonsense. The word is one of moral praise, and of the highest praise in some cases, almost combining all good qualities, though here it means any one of average worth.

in general terms* to speak of myself in the least invidious manner) : he should both maintain in office the purpose of a firm† mind and the course suited to his country's pre-eminence, and on all occasions and in all his actions the spirit of patriotism. This belongs to our nature ; victory and might are under the dominion of another power.‡ These dispositions you will find to have been absolutely inherent in me. For observe ; neither when my head was demanded,§

* οὕτω or οὕτως seems here to be "thus generally." Leland's "in general terms" seems to hit the mark exactly. Wolff's "sic enim" is hardly enough.

† γενναίου denotes here much rather firmness or magnanimity than generosity. Stock, "magnanimitatis." Wolff, "generosi." Leland escapes by making it "zeal for the honour of the state ;" giving "pre-eminence" for the προτελον.

‡ ἕτερα refers to fortune here ; but the text, with Leland, gives that clearly enough. Wolff, notwithstanding all his abstinence, gives "fortuna."

§ ἐξαυτουμένου. Francis, "When Philip demanded I should be given up to his resentment," enough certainly for one word. Dawson is much better, "demanded me to be given up ;" but he had just before exhausted his powers of paraphrase on τουτου ἡ φύσις κυρία. "By preserving these sentiments we follow Nature herself, and bind ourselves to nothing but what is in our own power." Then τον ἐνρασθαι δε και ισχυειν ἕτερα. "But conquest and empire are not the necessary consequences of virtue and wisdom, but depend upon a mere capricious being." It really should seem that a portion of the reverend author's sermon had found its way into this portion of his translation.

nor when they dragged me before the Amphictions, nor when they threatened, nor when they promised, nor when they let loose on me these wretches like wild beasts,* did I ever abate in any particular my affection for you. This straightforward and honest path of policy, from the very first, I chose; the honour, the power, the glory of my country to promote—these to augment—in these to have my being.† Never was I seen going about the streets elated and exulting when the enemy was victorious, stretching out my hand, and congratulating such as I thought would tell it elsewhere, but hearing with alarm any success of our own armies, moaning and bent to the earth like these impious men, who rail at this country as if they could do so without also stigmatizing themselves;‡ and who, turning their eyes abroad,

* Dawson makes them actually “worry” Δ, who only says, they were let loose upon him.

† *μετα toutwv ειπαλ*. Wolff, “in his vivere,” well enough—not literal. Stock, “cum his consisterem.” Leland, “my whole being is devoted to this glorious cause;” which silly addition of “glorious cause” really only serves to weaken a very good version—“in these to live,” or “by these to abide,” might do. The text is more literal, and gives the sense pretty fairly.

‡ Francis, good here, “as if they could slander her without publishing their own infamy.” Leland also good, though less close, “defamers of the state, and thus defamers of themselves.” The transition from this common topic to the actual peroration is inimitable. The whole

and seeing the prosperity of the enemy in the calamities of Greece, rejoice in them, and maintain that we should labour to make them last for ever !

* Let not, oh gracious God, let not such conduct receive any manner of sanction from thee !

passage, beginning *ὅσο*, is beyond all praise. When Cicero said his ears were so insatiable as even in *Δ* ever to desiderate something more to fill them (*ita avidæ et capaces*) he must have forgotten the effect of this wonderful peroration, which is condensed, full of matter, rapid, even fierce, and rolls on in a torrent so majestic, with all its fury, that nothing like it can any where else be seen. In the midst of it all there is a touching, almost a pathetic introduction of feeling, "*οὐδ' ἄμως προδίδωκα ἐγὼ τὴν εἰς ὑμᾶς εὐνοίαν*," which here is not zeal or patriotism, but the affection he cherished in his bosom for the people, all and each of them, as he says in the exordium, and which not all his own troubles and perils could extinguish, or abate, or cool. The transition to the calm, but solemn, dignified, eminently impressive close of the whole is equally fine, and must have had a marvellous effect.

* Hard as is the translator's task before and throughout, but more especially as he approaches his release from an almost impossible attempt, at the very end of all it becomes yet more hopeless. The very first words are untranslatable by the structure of our language, the *μη δὴ τ'*. The associations of religion make the next impossible. We cannot individualise with any gravity, and say, "O all ye Gods, let not any one of your number sanction." Yet to an Attic audience the intensive effect of this must have been very great. The noble phrase *τοτούς μὲν αὐτούς καθ' ἑαυτούς* is not so inapproachable, yet never can be equalled. Francis has it very ill, "separate you wholly

Rather plant even in these men a better spirit and better feelings! But if they are wholly incurable, then pursue them, yea, themselves by themselves, to utter and untimely perdition by land and by sea; and to us who are spared vouchsafe to grant the speediest rescue from our impending alarms, and an unshaken security!

from this people." Dawson worse, "banish you from all commerce with human kind." Leland, "on them, on them only, discharge your vengeance." Now though Δ by the force of these words, and the subsequent prayer for ἡμιν τοις λοιποῖς implies the separating; he does any thing rather than say it in terms. Wolff omits the words entirely, giving only "eos," which is very bad. Then come the most difficult words of all, the ἐξωλεῖς καὶ προωλεῖς. προωλεῖς probably means cutting off before their time, and ἐξωλεῖς entirely extirpating. In the παραπρσιβειᾷ Δ says ἐξωλεῖς καὶ προωλεῖς ἀπολοιμην, and it was a common thing to imprecate ἐξωλεῖται, utter destruction: it means being cut off out of the world. It is remarkable that in some MS. προωλεῖς is left out. Wolff, "ad internecionem funditus." Stock, "funditus et immatura morte." Francis, "entirely and universally." Dawson, "with hasty vengeance utterly extirpated." Leland, "pursue them even to destruction." The σωτηριαν ασφαλη is almost equally difficult; it is unslippery, untolerating, but it also means undeceitful.—After much consideration "unshaken" has been adopted on the suggestion of a friend whose taste and knowledge of our language is not surpassed. The inversion of the original however has been avoided as not idiomatic. The music of this closing passage is almost as fine as the sense is impressive and grand, and the manner dignified and calm.

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ

Ὁ ΠΕΡΙ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΣ.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ.

ΠΡΩΤΟΝ μὲν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς θεοῖς
εὐχομαι πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις, ὅσην εὐνοίαν ἔχων ἐγὼ
διατελῶ τῇ τε πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην
ὑπάρξαι μοι παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα,
ἐπειθ' ὃ πέρ ἐστι μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς
ὑμετέρας εὐσεβείας τε καὶ δόξης, τοῦτο παραστή-
σαι τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῖν, μὴ τὸν ἀντίδικον σύμβουλον
ποιήσασθαι περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἀκούειν ὑμᾶς ἐμοῦ δεῖ
(σχέτλιόν γάρ ἂν εἴη τοῦτό γε) ἀλλὰ τοὺς νόμους
καὶ τὸν ὅρκον, ἐν ᾧ πρὸς ἅπασι τοῖς ἄλλοις δικαίοις
καὶ τοῦτο γέγραπται, τὸ ὁμοίως ἀμφοῖν ἀκροά-
σασθαι. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν οὐ μόνον τὸ μὴ προκατ-
εγνωκέναι μηδέν, οὐδὲ τὸ τὴν εὐνοίαν ἴσην ἀμφοτέ-
ροις ἀποδοῦναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ
ἀπολογίᾳ, ὡς βεβούληται καὶ προήρηται τῶν
ἀγωνιζομένων ἕκαστος, οὕτως ἑᾶσαι χεῖρας.

Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἐγὼγ' ἐλαττοῦμαι κατὰ του-

τονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα Αἰσχίνου, δύο δ' ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ μεγάλα, ἐν μὲν ὅτι οὐ περὶ τῶν ἴσων ἀγωνίζομαι· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἴσον νῦν ἐμοὶ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐνοίας διαμαρτεῖν καὶ τούτῳ μὴ ἐλεῖν τὴν γραφὴν, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μὲν, οὐ βούλομαι δὲ δυσχερὲς εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου, οὗτος δ' ἐκ περιουσίας μου κατηγορεῖ. ἕτερον δ', ὃ* φύσει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχει, τῶν μὲν λοιδοριῶν καὶ τῶν κατηγοριῶν ἀκούειν ἡδέως, τοῖς ἐπαινοῦσι δ' † αὐτοὺς ἄχθεσθαι· τούτων τοίνυν ὃ μὲν ἐστὶ πρὸς ἡδονήν, τούτῳ δέδοται, ὃ δὲ πᾶσιν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἐνοχλεῖ, λοιπὸν ἐμοί. καὶ μὲν εὐλαβούμενος τοῦτο μὴ λέγω τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐμαυτῷ, οὐκ ἔχειν ἀπολύσασθαι τὰ κατηγορημένα δόξω οὐδ' ἐφ' οἷς ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι δεικνύναι· ἂν δ' ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ πεποίηκα καὶ πεπολίτευμαι βαδίζω, πολλάκις λέγειν ἀναγκασθήσομαι περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ. πειράσομαι μὲν οὖν ὡς μετρίωτατα τοῦτο ποιεῖν· ὃ τι δ' ἂν τὸ πρᾶγμα αὐτὸ ἀναγκάζῃ, τούτου τὴν αἰτίαν οὗτός ἐστι δίκαιος ἔχειν ὁ τοιοῦτον ἀγῶνα ἐστησάμενος.

Οἶμαι δ' ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, πάντας ἂν ὁμολογήσαι κοινὸν εἶναι τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐμοὶ καὶ Κτησιφῶντι καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλάττονος ἄξιον σπουδῆς ἐμοί· πάντων μὲν γὰρ ἀποστερεῖσθαι λυπηρόν ἐστι καὶ χαλεπόν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὑπ' ἐχθροῦ τῷ ‡

* ὅτι. & ἡ.

† ὃ ἐπαινοῦσιν.

‡ τινι.

τοῦτο συμβαίνει, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐνοίας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας, ὅσα περ καὶ τὸ τυχεῖν τούτων μέγιστόν ἐστιν.

Περὶ τούτων δ' ὄντος τουτουῖ τοῦ ἀγῶνος, ἀξιῶ καὶ δέομαι πάντων ὁμοίως ὑμῶν ἀκοῦσαί μου περὶ τῶν κατηγορημένων* ἀπολογουμένου δικαίως, ὥσπερ οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσιν, οὓς ὁ τιθεὶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς Σόλων, εὖνους ἂν ὑμῖν καὶ δημοτικός, οὐ μόνον τῷ γράψαι κυρίους ᾗτο δεῖν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τοὺς δικάζοντας ὑμᾶς ὁμωμοκέναι, οὐκ ἀπιστῶν ὑμῖν, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ† φαίνεται, ἀλλ' ὄρῶν ὅτι τὰς αἰτίας καὶ τὰς διαβολάς, αἷς ἐκ τοῦ πρότερος‡ λέγειν ὁ διώκων ἰσχύει, οὐκ ἐνὶ τῷ φεύγοντι παρελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ τῶν δικαζόντων ἕκαστος ὑμῶν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν διαφυλάττων καὶ τὰ τοῦ λέγοντος ὕστερον§ δίκαια εὐνοϊκῶς προσδέξεται, καὶ παρασχὼν ἑαυτὸν ἴσον καὶ κοινὸν ἀμφοτέροις ἀκροατὴν οὕτω τὴν διάγνωσιν|| ποιήσεται περὶ ἀπάντων.

Μέλλων δὲ τοῦ τε ἰδίου βίου παντός, ὥς ἔοικε, λόγον διδόναι τήμερον καὶ τῶν κοινῇ πεπολιτευμένων, βούλομαι, καθάπερ ἐν ἀρχῇ, πάλιν τοὺς θεοὺς παρακαλέσαι, καὶ ἐναντίον ὑμῶν εὐχομαι πρῶτον μὲν, ὅσῃν εὖνοϊαν ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελῶ τῇ τε πόλει

* κατηγορουμένων.

† γε μοι.

‡ πρότερον.

§ ὕστερον. || διαγνωμην.

καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην ὑπάρξαι μοι παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν αἰῶνα, ἔπειθ' ὅτι μέλλει συνοίσειν καὶ πρὸς εὐδοξίαν κοινῇ καὶ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἑκάστω, τοῦτο παραστήσαι τοὺς θεοὺς πᾶσιν ὑμῖν περὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς γραφῆς γνῶναι.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν περὶ ᾧ ἐδίωκε μόνον κατηγορήσεται* Αἰσχίνης, καὶ γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ προβουλεύματος εὐθὺς ἂν ἀπελογούμην· ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐκ ἐλάττω λόγον τᾶλλα διεξιὼν ἀνήλωκε† καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα κατεψεύσατό μου, ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι νομίζω καὶ δίκαιον ἅμα βραχέα, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περὶ τούτων εἰπεῖν πρῶτον, ἵνα μηδεὶς ὑμῶν τοῖς ἔξωθεν λόγοις ἠγμένος ἀλλοτριώτερον τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς γραφῆς δικαίων ἀκούῃ μου.

Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἰδίων ὅσα λοιδορούμενος βεβλασφήμηκε περὶ ἐμοῦ, θεάσασθε ὡς ἀπλᾶ καὶ δίκαια λέγω. εἰ μὲν ἴστε με τοιοῦτον οἷον οὗτος ἠτιᾶτο (οὐ γὰρ ἄλλοθί που βεβίωκα ἢ παρ' ὑμῖν), μηδὲ φωνὴν ἀνάσχησθε, μηδ' εἰ πάντα τὰ κοινὰ ὑπέρειν πεπολίτευμαι, ἀλλ' ἀναστάντες καταψηφίσασθε ἥδη· εἰ δὲ πολλῶν βελτίω τούτου καὶ ἐκ βελτιόνων, καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν μετρίων, ἵνα μηδὲν ἐπαχθὲς λέγω, χεῖρονα‡ καὶ ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς ὑπειλήφατε καὶ γιγνώσκετε, τούτῳ μὲν μηδ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων πιστεύετε (ὁῦλον γὰρ ὡς ὁμοίως ἅπαντ'

* ἐκατηγορεῖ.

† ἀναλωκε.

‡ χεῖρω.

ἐπλάττειτο), ἐμοὶ δ', ἦν παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον
 εὖνοιαν ἐνδέδειχθε ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἀγῶνων τῶν πρότερον
 γεγενημένων, καὶ νυνὶ παράσχεσθε. κακοήθης δ' ὢν,
 Αἰσχίνη, τοῦτο παντελῶς εὐήθης ἀήθης, τοὺς περὶ
 τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ πεπολιτευμένων λόγους
 ἀφέντα με πρὸς τὰς λοιδορίας τὰς παρὰ σοῦ τρέ-
 ψεσθαι. οὐ δὴ ποιήσω τοῦτο· οὐχ οὕτω τετύφωμαι·
 ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἅ κατεψεύδου
 καὶ δῖεβαλλες, αὐτίκα ἐξετάσω, τῆς δὲ πομπείας
 ταύτης τῆς ἀνέδην* γεγενημένης ὕστερον, ἂν βου-
 λομένοις ἀκούειν ἢ τουτοισί, μνησθήσομαι.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατηγορημένα πολλὰ καὶ δεινά,
 καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐνίων μεγάλας καὶ τὰς ἐσχάτας οἱ
 νόμοι τάττουσι τιμωρίας· τοῦ δὲ παρόντος ἀγῶνος
 ἡ προαίρεσις αὕτη ἐχθροῦ μὲν ἐπήρειαν ἔχει καὶ
 ὕβριν καὶ λοιδορίαν καὶ προπηλακισμόν ὁμοῦ καὶ
 πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα· τῶν μέντοι† κατηγοριῶν καὶ τῶν
 αἰτιῶν τῶν εἰρημένων, εἴπερ ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς, οὐκ ἐνι‡
 τῇ πόλει δίκην ἀξίαν λαβεῖν, οὐδ' ἐγγύς. οὐ γὰρ
 ἀφαιρεῖσθαι δεῖ τὸ προσελθεῖν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ λόγον
 τυχεῖν, οὐδ' ἐν ἐπηρείας τάξει καὶ φθόνου τοῦτο
 ποιεῖν· οὔτε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ὀρθῶς ἔχον οὔτε πολι-
 τικὸν οὔτε δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· ἀλλ'
 ἐφ' οἷς ἀδικοῦντά με ἑώρα τὴν πόλιν, οὐσί γε τη-
 λικούτοις ἡλίκα νῦν ἐτραγῶδει§ καὶ διεξήξει, ταῖς

* ἀναιδην. † τῶν μὲν τοινυν. ‡ ἐνν. § διτραγῶδεις.

ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίαις παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ δικήματα
 χρῆσθαι, εἰ μὲν εἰσαγγελίας ἄξια πράττοντά με
 ἰώρα, εἰσαγγέλλοντα καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον εἰς
 κρίσιν καθιστάντα παρ' ὑμῖν, εἰ δὲ γράφοντα πα-
 ράνομα, παρανόμων γραφόμενοι· οὐ γὰρ δήπου
 Κτησιφῶντα μὲν δύναται διώκειν δι' ἐμέ, ἐμέ δέ,
 εἴπερ ἐξελέγξειν* ἐνόμιζεν, αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀνέγράψατο.
 καὶ μὴν εἴ τι τῶν ἄλλων ὧν νυνὶ† διέβαλλε καὶ
 διεξήει ἢ καὶ ἄλλ' ὅτιοῦν ἀδικοῦντά με ὑμᾶς
 ἰώρα, εἰσὶ νόμοι περὶ πάντων καὶ τιμωρίαι καὶ
 ἀγῶνες καὶ κρίσεις πικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἔχουσαι
 τὰπιτίμια, καὶ τούτοις ἐξῆν ἅπασιν‡ χρῆσθαι κατ'
 ἔμοῦ, καὶ ὁπνήκα ἐφαίνετο ταῦτα πεποιηκῶς καὶ
 τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον κεχρημένος τοῖς πρὸς ἐμέ, ὡμο-
 λογεῖτο ἂν ἡ κατηγορία τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. νῦν δ'
 ἐκστὰς τῆς ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας ὁδοῦ καὶ φυγὰν τοὺς
 παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ἐλέγχους, τοσούτοις
 ὕστερον χρόνοις αἰτίας καὶ σκώμματα καὶ λοι-
 δορίας συμφορῆσας ὑποκρίνεται· εἴτα κατηγορεῖ
 μὲν ἐμοῦ, κρίνει δὲ τουτονί, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀγῶνος
 ὅλου τὴν πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔχθραν προϊσταται, οὐδαμοῦ δ'
 ἐπὶ ταύτην ἀπηνητηκῶς ἐμοὶ τὴν ἐτέρου ζητῶν ἐπι-
 τιμίαν ἀφελίσθαι φαίνεται. καίτοι πρὸς ἅπασιν,
 ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς ἄλλοις δικαίοις οἷς ἂν
 εἰπεῖν τις ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος ἔχοι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐμοιγε

* ἐξελεγχεν.

† νυν.

‡ ἀντὶ πασι.

δοκεῖ καὶ μάλ' εἰκότως ἂν λέγειν, ὅτι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἔχθρας ἡμᾶς ἐφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν δίκαιον ἦν τὸν ἐξετασμὸν ποιῆσθαι, οὐ τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγωνίζεσθαι παραλείπειν, ἑτέρῳ δ' ὅτῳ κακὸν τι δάσομεν ζητεῖν· ὑπερβολὴ γὰρ ἀδικίας τοῦτό γε.

Πάντα μὲν τοίνυν τὰ κατηγορημένα ὁμοίως ἐκ τούτων ἂν τις ἴδοι οὔτε δικαίως οὔτ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας οὐδεμιᾶς εἰρημένα· βούλομαι δὲ καὶ καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐξετάσαι, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσα ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς πρεσβείας κατεψεύσατό μου, τὰ πεπραγμένα ἑαυτῷ μετὰ Φιλοκράτους ἀνατιθεῖς ἐμοί. ἔστι δ' ἀναγκαῖον ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ προσῆκον ἴσως, ὥς κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους εἶχε τὰ πράγματα ἀναμνησάι ὑμᾶς, ἵνα πρὸς τὸν ὑπάρχοντα καιρὸν ἕκαστα θεωρῇτε.

Τοῦ γὰρ Φωκικοῦ συστάντος πολέμου, οὐ δι' ἐμὲ (οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἔγωγε ἐπολιτευόμην πω τότε), πρῶτον μὲν ὑμεῖς οὕτω δέκεσθε, ὥστε Φωκίας μὲν βούλεσθαι σωθῆναι, καίπερ οὐ δίκαια ποιοῦντας ὀργῶντες, Θηβαίοις δ' ὅτιοῦν ἂν ἐφησθῆναι παθοῦσιν, οὐκ ἀλόγως οὐδ' ἀδίκως αὐτοῖς ὀργιζόμενοι· οἷς γὰρ εὐτυχῆκεσαν ἐν Λεύκτροις, οὐ μετρίως ἐκέχρηντο*· ἔπειθ' ἡ Πελοπόννησος ἅπασα διειστήκει, καὶ οὔθ' οἱ μισοῦντες Λακεδαιμονίους οὕτως ἰσχυρὸν ὥστε ἀνελεῖν αὐτούς, οὔθ' οἱ πρότερον δι'

* ἐχρησαντο.

ἐκείνων ἄρχοντες κύριοι τῶν πόλεων ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ
 τις ἦν ἄκριτος καὶ παρὰ τούτοις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς
 ἄλλοις ἅπασιν* ἔρις καὶ ταραχή. ταῦτα δ' ὄρων ὁ
 Φίλιππος (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀφανῆ) τοῖς παρ' ἐκάστοις
 προδόταις χρήματα ἀναλίσκων πάντα συνέκρουε
 καὶ πρὸς αὐτούς† ἐτάραττεν‡ εἴτ' ἐν οἷς ἡμάρτανον
 οἱ ἄλλοι καὶ κακῶς ἐφρόνουν, αὐτὸς παρεσκευάζετο
 καὶ κατὰ πάντων ἐφύετο. ὥς δὲ ταλαιπωρούμενοι
 τῷ μήκει τοῦ πολέμου οἱ τότε μὲν βαρεῖς νῦν δ'
 ἀτυχεῖς Θηβαῖοι φανεροὶ πᾶσιν ἦσαν ἀναγκασθη-
 σόμενοι καταφεύγειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, ὁ Φίλιππος, ἵνα μὴ
 τοῦτο γένοιτο μηδὲ συνέλθοιεν αἱ πόλεις, ὑμῖν μὲν
 εἰρήνην ἐκείνοις δὲ βοήθειαν ἐπηγγείλατο. τί οὖν
 συνηγωνίσατο αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ λαβεῖν ὀλίγου δεῖν
 ὑμᾶς ἐκόντας ἐξαπαταμένους; ἢ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλ-
 λήνων, εἴτε χρηὴ κακίαν εἴτ' ἄγνοιαν εἴτε καὶ ἀμ-
 φότερα ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν, οἱ πόλεμον συνεχῆ καὶ μακρὸν
 πολεμοῦνταν ὑμῶν, καὶ τοῦτον ὑπὲρ τῶν πᾶσι
 συμφερόντων, ὥς ἔργῳ φανερὸν γέγονεν, οὔτε χρή-
 μασιν οὔτε σώμασιν οὔτ' ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀπάντων
 συνελάμβανον ὑμῖν· οἷς καὶ δικαίως καὶ προση-
 κόντως ὀργιζόμενοι ἐτοίμως ὑπηκούσατε τῷ Φι-
 λίπῳ. ἢ μὲν οὖν τότε συγχωρηθεῖσα εἰρήνη διὰ
 ταῦτ', οὐ δὲ ἐμέ, ὥς οὗτος διέβαλλεν, ἐπράχθη·
 τὰ δὲ τούτων ἀδικήματα καὶ δωροδοκήματα ἐν

* ἀλλοις Ἑλλήσιν. † ἐαυτοὺς & ἀλλήλους. ‡ ἐξηπάτηεν.

αὐτῇ τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων πραγμάτων, ἂν τις ἐξετάζη δικάως, αἴτια εὐρήσει. καὶ ταυτὶ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκριβολογοῦμαι καὶ διεξέρχομαι. εἰ γὰρ εἶναί τι δοκοίη τὰ μάλιστα ἐν τούτοις ἀδίκημα, οὐδέν ἐστι* δῆπου πρὸς ἐμέ, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν πρῶτος εἰπὼν καὶ μνησθεὶς ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης Ἀριστόδημος ἦν ὁ ὑποκριτής, ὁ δ' ἐκδεξάμενος καὶ γράψας καὶ ἑαυτὸν μετὰ τούτου μισθώσας ἐπὶ ταῦτα Φιλοκράτης ὁ Ἀγνούσιος, ὁ σὸς Αἰσχίνη κοινωνός, οὐχ ὁ ἐμός, οὐδ' ἂν σὺ διαρράγῃς† ψευδόμενος, οἱ δὲ συνειπόντες ὅτου δῆποτε ἕνεκα (ἐγὼ γὰρ τοῦτό γ' ἐν τῷ παρόντι) Εὐβουλος καὶ Κηφισοφῶν· ἐγὼ δ' οὐδέν οὐδαμοῦ.

Ἄλλ' ὅμως, τούτων τοιούτων ὄντων καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας οὕτω δεικνυμένων, εἰς τοῦθ' ἤκεν ἀναιδείας, ὥστ' ἐτόλμα‡ λέγειν ὡς ἄρα ἐγὼ πρὸς τῷ τῆς εἰρήνης αἴτιος γεγενῆσθαι καὶ κεκωλυκῶς εἶην τὴν πόλιν μετὰ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων αὐτὴν ποιήσασθαι. εἴτ' ὦ—τί ἂν εἰπὼν σέ τις ὀρθῶς προσείποι; ἔστιν ὅπου σὺ παρῶν, τηλικαύτην πρᾶξιν§ καὶ συμμαχίαν, ἡλικὴν νῦν διεξήεις, ὀρῶν ἀφαιρούμενόν με τῆς πόλεως ἡγανάκτησας, ἢ παρελθὼν ταῦτα ἅ νῦν κατηγορεῖς ἐδίδαξας καὶ διεξῆλθες; καὶ μὴν

* ἐστὶ τούτων. † διαρράγεις. ‡ τόλμαν. § παραταξίν.

εἰ τὸ κωλύσαι τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων κοινωνίαν ἐπι-
 πράκειν ἐγὼ Φιλίππῳ, σοὶ τὸ μὴ σιγῆσαι λοιπὸν
 ἦν, ἀλλὰ βοᾶν καὶ διαμαρτύρεσθαι καὶ δηλοῦν
 τουτοισί. οὐ τοίνυν ἐποίησας οὐδαμοῦ τοῦτο, οὐδ'
 ἤκουσέ σου ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν οὐδεὶς, εἰκότως· οὔτε
 γὰρ ἦν πρεσβεῖα πρὸς οὐδένας* ἀπεσταλμένη τότε
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ πάλαι πάντες ἦσαν ἐξελη-
 λεγμένοι, οὐθ' οὗτος ὑγιὲς περὶ τούτων εἴρηκει
 οὐδέν.

Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων καὶ διαβάλλει τὴν πόλιν τὰ
 μέγιστα ἐν οἷς ψεύδεται· εἰ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἅμα,
 τοὺς μὲν Ἕλληνας εἰς πόλεμον παρεκαλεῖτε, αὐτοὶ
 δὲ πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ εἰρήνης πρέσβεις ἐπέμπετε,
 Εὐρυβάτου πρᾶγμα, οὐ πόλεως ἔργον οὐδὲ χρη-
 στῶν ἀνθρώπων διεπράττεσθε. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα,
 οὐκ ἔστι· τί γὰρ καὶ βουλόμενοι μετεπέμπεσθ'
 ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ; ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην;
 ἀλλ' ὑπῆρχεν ἅπασιν. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον;
 ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ περὶ εἰρήνης ἐβουλεύεσθε.† Οὐκοῦν
 οὔτε τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰρήνης ἡγεμὼν οὐδ' αἴτιος ἂν
 ἐγὼ φαίνομαι, οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων ἂν κατεψεύσατό
 μου οὐδὲν ἀληθές ὃν δείκνυται.‡ Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν
 ἐποίησατο τὴν εἰρήνην ἡ πόλις, ἐνταῦθα πάλιν
 σκέψασθε τί ἡμῶν ἐκάτερος προείλετο πράττειν·

* οὐδένας.

† ἐπρεσβευετε.

‡ φαίνεται.

καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τούτων εἴσεσθε, τίς ἦν ὁ Φιλίππων
πάντα συναγωνιζόμενος, καὶ τίς ὁ πράτταν ὑπὲρ
ὑμῶν καὶ τὸ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον ζητῶν.

Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν ἔγραψα βουλευῶν ἀποπλεῖν
τὴν ταχίστην τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους, ἐν
οἷς ἂν ὄντα Φίλιππον πυνθάνωνται, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους
ἀπολαμβάνειν· οὗτοι δὲ οὐδὲ γράψαντος ἐμοῦ
ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἠθέλησαν. τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἡδύνατο, ὦ
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι; ἐγὼ διδάξω. Φιλίππων μὲν ἦν
συμφέρον ὡς πλεῖστον τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον γενέσθαι
τῶν ὅρκων, ὑμῖν δ' ὡς ἐλάχιστον. διὰ τί; ὅτι
ὑμεῖς μὲν οὐκ ἀφ' ἧς ἀμόσατε μόνον ἡμέρας,
ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἧς ἠλπίσατε τὴν εἰρήνην ἔσεσθαι, πάσας
ἐξελεύσασθε τὰς παρασκευὰς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου, ὁ
δὲ τοῦτο ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου μάλιστα ἐπραγ-
ματεύετο, νομίζων, ὅπερ ἦν ἀληθές, ὅσα* τῆς πόλεως
προλάβοι πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς ὅρκους ἀποδοῦναι, πάντα
ταῦτα βεβαίως ἔξειν· οὐδένα γὰρ τὴν εἰρήνην
λύσειν τούτων ἔνεκα.

Ἄ ἐγὼ προορώμενος ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ
λογιζόμενος †τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο γράφω, πλεῖν
ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐν οἷς ἂν ᾗ Φίλιππος, καὶ τοὺς
ὅρκους τὴν ταχίστην ἀπολαμβάνειν, ἵν' ἐχόντων
τῶν Θρακῶν, τῶν ὑμετέρων συμμάχων, τὰ χωρία
ταῦθ' ἃ νῦν οὗτος διέσυρε, τὸ Σέρριον καὶ τὸ

* ος' αν.

† τοῦτο το ψήφισμα.

Μύρτιον* καὶ τὴν Ἑργίσκην, οὕτω γίγνοιθ' οἱ ὄρκοι, καὶ μὴ προλαβὼν ἐκεῖνος τοὺς ἐπικαίρους τῶν τόπων κύριος τῆς Ἑράκης κατασταίῃ, μηδὲ πολλῶν μὲν χρημάτων πολλῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν εὐπορήσας ἐκ τούτων ῥαδίως τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπιχειροῖη πράγμασιν. εἴτα τοῦτο† μὲν οὐχὶ λέγει τὸ ψήφισμα, οὐδ' ἀναγιγνώσκει· εἰ δὲ βουλευὼν ἐγὰν προσάγειν τοὺς πρέσβεις ᾧ μὴν δεῖν, τοῦτό μου διαβάλλει. ἀλλὰ τί ἐχρῆν με ποιεῖν; μὴ προσάγειν γράψαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦθ' ἤκοντας, ἵν' ὑμῖν διαλεχθῶσιν; ἢ θέαν μὴ κατανεῖμαι τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτοῖς κελεῦσαι; ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν ἐβρώρουν ἄν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτ' ἐγράφη. τὰ μικρὰ‡ συμφέροντα τῆς πόλεως ἔδει με φυλάττειν, τὰ δ' ὅλα, ὥσπερ οὗτοι, πεπρακέναι§; οὐ δῆπου. Λέγε τοίνυν μοι τὸ ψήφισμα τουτὶ λαβῶν, ὃ σαφῶς οὗτος εἰδὼς|| παρέβη. λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Μησιφίλου, ἑκατομβαιῶνος ἔην καὶ νέα, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Πανδιονίδος, Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς εἶπεν, ἐπεὶ δὴ Φίλιππος ἀποστείλας πρέσβεις περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης

* Μυρτηριον & Μυρτηκον.

† τουτι.

‡ σμικρα.

§ Φιλιππῳ;

|| ἱκων παρεβη.

ὁμολογουμένηας πεποιήται συνθήκας, δεδόχθαι τῇ
 Βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ* Ἀθηναίων, ὅπως ἂν ἡ
 εἰρήνη ἐπιτελεσθῇ ἢ ἐπιχειροτονηθεῖσα ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ
 ἐκκλησίᾳ, πρέσβεις ἐλίσθαι ἐκ πάντων Ἀθηναίων
 ἥδη πέντε, τοὺς δὲ χειροτονηθέντας ἀποδημεῖν μη-
 δεμίαν ὑπερβολὴν ποιουμένους, ὅπου ἂν ὄντα πυν-
 θάνωνται τὸν Φίλιππον, καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους λαβεῖν
 τε παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ταχίστην ἐπὶ ταῖς
 ὁμολογημέναις συνθήκαις αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Ἀθη-
 ναίων δῆμον, συμπεριλαμβάνοντας† καὶ τοὺς ἐκα-
 τέρων συμμάχους. πρέσβεις ἡρέθησαν Εὐβουλος
 Ἀναφλύστιος, Αἰσχίνης Κοθωκίδης, Κηφισοφῶν
 Ῥαμινούσιος, Δημοκράτης Φλυεύς, Κλέων Κο-
 θωκίδης.

Ταῦτα γράψαντος ἐμοῦ τότε, καὶ τὸ τῇ πόλει
 συμφέρον, οὐ τὸ Φιλίππῳ ζητοῦντος, βραχὺ φρον-
 τίσαντες οἱ χρηστοὶ πρέσβεις οὗτοι καθήντο‡ ἐν
 Μακεδονίᾳ τρεῖς ὅλους μῆνας, ἕως ἦλθε Φίλιππος
 ἐκ Θράκης πάντα καταστρεψάμενος τὰ κεῖ, ἐξὸν
 ἡμερῶν δέκα, μᾶλλον δὲ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων, εἰς τὸν
 Ἑλλήσποντον ἀφίχθαι καὶ τὰ χωρία σῶσαι, λα-
 βόντας τοὺς ὄρκους πρὶν ἐκεῖνον ἐξελεῖν αὐτά· οὐ
 γὰρ ἂν ἤφατ' αὐτῶν παρόντων ἡμῶν,§ ἢ οὐκ ἂν
 ἀρκίζομεν αὐτόν, ὥστε τῆς εἰρήνης ἂν διημαρτήκει

* των. † συμπααραλαμβάνοντας. ‡ ἐκαθηντο. § ὡμων.

καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀμφοτέρω εἶχε, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὰ
χωρία.

Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ πρῶτον κλέμμα
μὲν Φιλίππου, δωροδόκημα δὲ τῶν ἀδίκων τούτων
ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν τοιοῦτον ἐγένετο· ὑπὲρ
οὗ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν καὶ αἰὶ ὁμολογῶ πολεμεῖν καὶ
διαφέρεισθαι τούτοις. ἕτερον δ' εὐθύς ἐφεξῆς ἔτι
τούτου μεῖζον κακούργημα θεάσασθε. ἐπεὶ δὲ γὰρ
ᾠμοσε* τὴν εἰρήνην ὁ Φίλιππος προλαβὼν τὴν (Ἡ)ρά-
κην διὰ τούτους οὐχὶ πεισθέντας τῷ ἐμῷ ψηφί-
σματι, πάλιν ἀνέϊται παρ' αὐτῶν ὅπως μὴ ἀπίωσιν†
ἐκ Μακεδονίας, ἕως τὰ τῆς στρατείας‡ τῆς ἐπὶ
τοὺς Φωκίας εὐτρεπῆ ποιήσαιο, ἵνα μὴ, δεῦρ'
ἀπαγγειλάντων αὐτῶν ὅτι μέλλει καὶ παρασκευά-
ζεται πορεύεσθαι, ἐξέλθοιτε§ ὑμεῖς καὶ περιπλεύ-
σαντες ταῖς τριήρεσιν εἰς Πύλας ὥσπερ πρότερον
κλείσατε τὸν πορθμόν, ἀλλ' ἅμ' ἀκούοιτε ταῦτα
ἀπαγγελλόντων τούτων καὶ κεῖνος ἐντὸς εἴη Πυλῶν
καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοιθ' ὑμεῖς ποιῆσαι. οὕτω δ' ἦν ὁ Φι-
λίππος ἐν φόβῳ καὶ πολλῇ ἀγωνίᾳ, μὴ καὶ ταῦτα
προειληφότος αὐτοῦ, εἰ πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς Φωκίας ἀπο-
λίσθαι ψηφίσαισθε βοηθεῖν [αὐτοῖς], ἐκφύγοι τὰ
πράγματ' αὐτόν, ὥστε μισθοῦνται τὸν κατάπτυστον
τουτονί, οὐκέτι κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πρέσβων

* ὠμολογησι.

† ἀπιωμεν.

‡ στρατείας.

§ ἐξελθῆτε.

ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ καθ' αὐτόν, τοιαῦτα πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀπαγγεῖλαι, δι' ὧν ἅπαντ' ἀπώλετο.

Ἀξιῶ δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ δέομαι τοῦτο μεμνησθαι ὑμᾶς παρ' ὅλον τὸν ἀγῶνα, ὅτι μὴ κατηγορήσαντος Αἰσχίνου μηδὲν ἔξω τῆς γραφῆς οὐδ' ἂν ἐγὼ λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιούμην ἕτερον, ἀπάσαις δ' αἰτίαις καὶ βλασφημίαις ἅμα τούτου κεχρημένον ἀνάγκη καὶ μοι* πρὸς ἕκαστα τῶν κατηγορημένων μικρὰ† ἀποκρίνασθαι.

Τίνες οὖν ἦσαν οἱ παρὰ τούτου λόγοι τότε ρηθέντες, καὶ δι' οὓς ἅπαντ' ἀπώλετο; ὥς οὐ δεῖ θεωρεῖσθαι τῷ παρεληλυθέναι Φίλιππον εἶσω Πυλῶν· ἔσται γὰρ ἅπανθ' ὅσα βούλεσθ‡ ὑμεῖς· ἐὰν ἔχηθ' ἡσυχίαν, καὶ ἀκούσεσθε δυοῖν ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, οἷς μὲν ἐχθρὸς ἦκει, Φίλον αὐτὸν γεγενημένον, οἷς δὲ φίλος, τούναντίον ἐχθρόν. οὐ γὰρ τὰ ρήματα τὰς οἰκειότητας ἔφη βεβαιοῦν, μάλα σεμνῶς ὀνομάζων, ἀλλὰ τὸ ταῦτα συμφέρειν· συμφέρειν δὲ Φιλίππῳ καὶ Φωκεῦσι καὶ ὑμῖν ὁμοίως ἅπασι τῆς ἀναλγησίας καὶ τῆς βαρύτητος ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων. ταῦτα δ' ἀσμένως τινὲς ἤκουον αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τόθ' ὑποῦσαν ἀπέχθειαν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους. τί οὖν συνέβη μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθύς, οὐκ εἰς μακράν; τοὺς μὲν ταιπύρους Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι καὶ κατασκαφῆναι

* καμει.

† σμικρα.

‡ βουλησθ'.

τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν, ὑμᾶς δ' ἡσυχίαν ἀγαγόντας καὶ τούτῳ πεισθέντας μικρὸν ὕστερον σκευαγωγεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν, τοῦτον δὲ χρυσίον λαβεῖν, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις τὴν μὲν ἀπέχθειαν τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλοὺς τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι,* τὴν δὲ χάριν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπραγμένων Φιλίππῳ. ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει, λέγε μοι τό τε τοῦ Καλλισθένους ψήφισμα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου, ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ταῦθ' ἅπανθ' ὑμῖν ἔσται φανερά. λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Ἐπὶ Μνησιφίλου ἄρχοντος, συγκλήτου ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ στρατηγῶν γενομένης, καὶ πρυτάνεων καὶ βουλῆς γνώμῃ, μαιμακτηριῶνος δεκάτῃ ἀπίοντος, Καλλισθένης Ἐτεονίκου Φαληρεὺς εἶπε μηδὲνα Ἀθηναίων μηδεμιᾷ παρευρέσει ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ κοιταῖον γίγνεσθαι ἀλλ' ἐν ἄστει καὶ Πειραιεῖ, ὅσοι μὴ ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις εἰσὶν ἀποτεταγμένοι· τούτων δ' ἐκάστους, ἢν παρέλαβον τάξιν, διατηρεῖν μήτε ἀφμερεύοντας μήτε ἀποκοιτοῦντας. ὅς δ' ἂν ἀπειθήσῃ τῷδε τῷ ψήφισματι, ἔνοχος ἔστω τοῖς τῆς προδοσίας ἐπιτιμίαις, ἐὰν μὴ τι ἀδύνατον† ἐπιδεικνύῃ περὶ ἑαυτὸν ὄν· περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου ἐπικρινέτω

* γιγενῆσθαι.

† περὶ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου.

ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων στρατηγὸς καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς. κατακομίζειν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν πάντα τὴν ταχίστην, τὰ μὲν ἐντὸς σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν εἰς ἄστνυ καὶ Πειραιᾶ, τὰ δὲ ἐκτὸς σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν εἰς Ἑλευσίνα καὶ Φυλὴν καὶ Ἀφιδναν καὶ Ῥαμνοῦντα καὶ Σούνιον. εἶπε Καλλισθένης Φαληρεὺς.

Ἄρ' ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς ἐλπίσι τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιεῖσθε, ἢ ταυτ' ἐπηγγέλλεθ' * ὑμῖν οὗτος ὁ μισθωτός; Λέγε δὴ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν† ἣν δεῦρ' ἔπεμψε Φίλιππος μετὰ ταῦτα.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.

Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἴστε ἡμᾶς παρεληλυθότας εἶσω Πυλῶν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Φωκίδα ὑφ' ἑαυτοὺς‡ πεποιημένους, καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐκουσίως προσετίθετο τῶν πολισμάτων, φρουρὰς εἰσαγχοχότας [εἰς αὐτά], τὰ δὲ μὴ ὑπακούοντα κατακράτος λαβόντες καὶ ἐξανδραποδισάμενοι κατεσκάψαμεν.§ ἀκούων δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς παρασκευάζεσθαι βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς γέγραφα ὑμῖν, ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ πλεῖον

* ἐπηγγεिलाθ'.

† αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν.

‡ ἡμᾶς.

§ κατασκαψαντας.

ἐνοχλῆσθε περὶ τούτων· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ὅλοις οὐδὲν μέτριόν μοι δοκεῖτε ποιεῖν, τὴν εἰρήνην συνθέμενοι καὶ ὁμοίως ἀντιπαρεξάγοντες, καὶ ταῦτα οὐδὲ συμπεριειλημμένων τῶν Φωκέων ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς ἡμῶν συνθήκαις. ὥστε ἐὰν μὴ ἐμμένητε τοῖς ἀμολογημένοις, οὐδὲν προτερήσετε ἔξω τοῦ ἐφθακέναι ἀδικοῦντες.

Ἀκούετε ὡς σαφῶς δηλοῖ καὶ διορίζεται ἐν τῇ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ συμμάχους, ὅτι “ ταῦτα ἐγὼ πεποίηκα ἀκόντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ λυπουμενῶν, ὥστ’ εἴπερ εὖ φρονεῖτε, ὦ Θηβαῖοι καὶ Θετταλοί, τούτους μὲν ἐχθροὺς ὑπολήψεσθε, ἐμοὶ δὲ πιστεύσετε,” οὐ τούτοις τοῖς ῥήμασι γράψας, ταῦτα δὲ βουλόμενος δεικνύει. τοιγαροῦν ἐκ τούτων ὥχετο ἐκείνους λαβὼν* εἰς τὸ μὴδ’ ὅτιοῦν προορᾶν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα μὴδ’ αἰσθάνεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἐᾶσαι πάντα τὰ πράγματα ἐκεῖνον ὑφ’ ἑαυτῷ ποιήσασθαι· ἐξ ὧν ταῖς παρούσαις συμφοραῖς οἱ ταλαίπωροι κέχρηται. ὁ δὲ ταύτης τῆς πίστεως αὐτῷ συνεργὸς καὶ συναγωνιστὴς καὶ ὁ δεῦρ’ ἀπαγγεῖλας τὰ ψευδῆ καὶ φευκακίᾶς ὑμᾶς οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὰ Θηβαίων ὀδυρόμενος νῦν πάθῃ καὶ διεξιὼν ὡς οἰκτρᾶ, καὶ τούτων καὶ τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσι κακῶν καὶ ὅς’ ἄλλα πεπόνθα-

* λαθων. & βαλων.

σιν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀπάντων αὐτὸς ὢν αἴτιος. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι σὺ μὲν ἀλγεῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν, Αἰσχίνῃ, καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐλεεῖς, κτήματ' ἔχων ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ καὶ γεωργῶν τὰ ἐκείνων,* ἐγὼ δὲ χαίρω, ὅς εὐθὺς ἐξητούμην ὑπὸ τοῦ ταῦτα πράξαντος. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐμπέπτωκα εἰς λόγους, οὓς αὐτίκα μᾶλλον ἴσως ἀρμόσει λέγειν. ἐπάνειμι δὴ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις, ὥς τὰ τούτων ἀδικήματα τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων πραγμάτων γέγονεν αἴτια.

Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐξηπάτησθε μὲν ὑμεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου διὰ τούτων τῶν ἐν ταῖς πρεσβείαις μισθωσάντων ἑαυτοὺς καὶ οὐδὲν ἀληθές ὑμῖν ἀπαγγειλάντων, ἐξηπάτηντο δὲ οἱ ταλαίπωροι Φωκεῖς† καὶ ἀνῆρηντο αἱ πόλεις αὐτῶν, τί ἐγένετο; οἱ μὲν κατάπτυστοι Θετταλοὶ καὶ ἀναίσθητοι Θηβαῖοι Φίλον, εὐεργέτην, σωτῆρα τὸν Φίλιππον ἡγοῦντο· πάντ' ἐκεῖνος ἦν αὐτοῖς· οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἤκουον, εἴ τις ἄλλο τι βούλοιο λέγειν. ὑμεῖς δὲ ὑφορῶμενοι τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ δυσχεραίνοντες ἤγετε τὴν εἰρήνην ὅμως· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὅ τι ἂν ἐποιεῖτε μόνοι. καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ Ἕλληνες, ὁμοίως ὑμῖν πεφεναικισμένοι καὶ διημαρτηκότες ὧν ἤλπισαν, ἤγον τὴν εἰρήνην ἄσμενοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἐκ πολλοῦ πολεμούμενοι. ὅτε γὰρ περιῶν ὁ Φίλιππος Ἰλ-
λυριοὺς καὶ Τριβαλλοὺς, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλ-

* εκει.

† Φωκες.

λήνων κατεστρέφετο, καὶ δυνάμεις πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἐποιεῖθ ὑφ' ἑαυτῶ, καὶ τινες τῶν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐξουσίᾳ βαδίζοντες ἐκεῖσε διεφθείροντο, ὧν εἷς οὗτος ἦν, τότε πάντες,* ἐφ' οὓς ταῦτα παρσκευάζετ' ἐκεῖνος, ἐπολεμοῦντο. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἡσθάνοντο, ἕτερος λόγος οὗτος, οὐ πρὸς ἐμέ. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ προὔλεγον καὶ διεμαρτυρόμην καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν αἰεὶ καὶ ὅποι πεμφθείην· αἱ δὲ πόλεις ἐνόσουν τῶν μὲν ἐν τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ πράττειν δωροδοκούντων καὶ διαφθειρομένων ἐπὶ χρήμασι, τῶν δὲ ιδιωτῶν καὶ πολλῶν τὰ μὲν οὐ προορωμένων, τὰ δὲ τῇ καθ' ἡμέραν ῥαστώνῃ καὶ σχολῇ δελεαζομένων, καὶ τοιούτονί τι πάθος πεπονθότων ἀπάντων, πλὴν οὐκ ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐκάστων οἰομένων τὸ δεινὸν ἥξειν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν ἑτέρων κινδύνων τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀσφαλῶς σχήσειν, † ὅταν βούλωνται. εἴτ' οἶμαι συμβέβηκε τοῖς μὲν πλῆθεσιν ἀντὶ τῆς πολλῆς καὶ ἀκαίρου ῥαθυμίας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπολωλέκεναι, τοῖς δὲ πρεσβεράσι καὶ τᾶλλα πλὴν ἑαυτοὺς οἰομένοις πωλεῖν πρῶτους ἑαυτοὺς πεπρακόσιν αἰσθῆσθαι· ἀντὶ γὰρ φίλων καὶ ξένων, ἃ τότε ἄνομάζοντο, ἡνίκα ἐδωροδόκουν, νῦν κόλακες καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθροὶ καὶ τᾶλλ' ἃ προσήκει πάντ' ἀκούουσιν. εἰκότως. οὐδεὶς γάρ, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ τοῦ προδιδόντος συμφέρον ζητῶν

* τότε ἕε τότε πάντες.

† ὑπολαμβανόντων ὅταν.

χρήματ' ἀναλίσκει, οὐδ' ἐπειδὴν ὧν ἂν πρίηται
 κύριος γένηται, τῷ προδότῃ συμβούλῳ περὶ τῶν
 λοιπῶν ἔτι χρῆται· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν ἦν εὐδαιμονέ-
 στερον προδότου. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔστι
 πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν τῶν
 πραγμάτων ἐγκρατὴς ὁ ζητῶν ἄρχειν καταστῇ,
 καὶ τῶν ταῦτα ἀποδομένων* δεσπότης ἐστί, τὴν δὲ
 πονηρίαν εἰδὼς τότε δὴ, τότε καὶ μισεῖ καὶ ἀπιστεῖ
 καὶ προπηλακίζει. σκοπεῖτε δέ· καὶ γὰρ εἰ παρε-
 λήλυθεν ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων καιρὸς, ὁ τοῦ γε εἰδέναι
 τὰ τοιαῦτα καιρὸς αἰεὶ πάρεστι τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι.
 μέχρι τούτου Λασθένης φίλος ὠνομάζετο Φιλίπ-
 που, ἕως προῦδωκεν Ὀλυνθον· μέχρι τούτου Τιμό-
 λαος, ἕως ἀπώλεσε Θήβας· μέχρι τούτου Εὐδίκος
 καὶ Σῆμος οἱ Λαρισσαῖοι, ἕως Θετταλίαν ὑπὸ Φι-
 λίπῳ ἐποίησαν. εἴτ' ἐλαυνομένων καὶ ὑβριζο-
 μένων καὶ τί κακὸν οὐχὶ πασχόντων πᾶσα ἡ
 οἰκουμένη μεστὴ γέγονε προδοτῶν. τί δ' Ἀρίστρα-
 τος ἐν Σικυῶνι, καὶ τί Περίλαος ἐν Μεγάροις;
 οὐκ ἀπερρίμμενοι; ἐξ ὧν καὶ σαφέστατ' ἂν τις
 ἴδοι ὅτι ὁ μάλιστα φυλάτταν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα
 καὶ πλεῖστα ἀντιλέγων τούτοις, οὗτος ὑμῖν, Αἰ-
 σχίνη, τοῖς προδιδούσι καὶ μισθαρνοῦσι τὸ ἔχειν
 ἐφ' ὅτῳ δωροδοκῆσετε περιποιεῖ, καὶ διὰ τοὺς πολ-
 λούς τούτους καὶ τοὺς ἀνθισταμένους τοῖς ὑμετέ-

ροις βουλήμασιν ὑμεῖς ἐστέ σῶοι καὶ ἔμμισθοι, ἐπεὶ διὰ γε ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς πάλαι ἂν ἀπολώλαιτε.*

Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν τότεπραχθέντων ἔχων ἔτι πολλὰ λέγειν, καὶ ταῦτα ἡγοῦμαι πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν εἰσῆσθαι. αἴτιος δ' οὗτος, ὥσπερ ἐωλοκρασίαν τινά μου τῆς πονηρίας τῆς ἐαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων κατασκεδάσας, ἦν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν πρὸς τοὺς νεωτέρους τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπολύσασθαι. παρηνάχλησθε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἴσως, οἱ καὶ πρὶν ἐμὲ εἰπεῖν ὅτιοῦν εἰδότες τὴν τούτου τότεμισθαρίαν. καίτοι φιλίαν γε καὶ ξενίαν αὐτὴν ὀνομάζει, καὶ νῦν εἴπέ που λέγων “ὁ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ξενίαν ὀνειδίζων ἐμοί.” ἐγὼ σοι ξενίαν Ἀλεξάνδρου; πόθεν λαβόντι ἢ πῶς ἀξιωθέντι; οὔτε Φιλίππου ξένον† οὔτ' Ἀλεξάνδρου φίλον‡ εἵποιμι· ἂν ἐγὼ σε, οὐχ οὕτω μαίνομαι, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς θειστοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλο τι μισθοῦ πρᾶττοντας φίλους καὶ ξένους δεῖ καλεῖν τῶν μισθωσαμένων. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα· πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. ἀλλὰ μισθωτὸν ἐγὼ σε Φιλίππου πρότερον καὶ νῦν Ἀλεξάνδρου καλῶ, καὶ οὗτοι πάντες. εἰ δ' ἀπιστεῖς, ἐρώτησον αὐτούς. μᾶλλον δ' ἐγὼ τοῦβ' ὑπὲρ σοῦ ποιήσω. πρότερον ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δοκεῖ μισθωτὸς Αἰσχίνης ἢ ξένος εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρου; ἀκούεις ἂν λέγουσιν. Βούλομαι τοίνυν ἤδη καὶ

* ἀπολωλάτε & ἀπολωλήτε.

† φίλον.

‡ ξένον.

περι τῆς γραφῆς αὐτῆς ἀπολογήσασθαι* καὶ διεξελθεῖν τὰ πεπραγμέν' ἐμαυτῷ, ἵνα καίπερ εἰδὼς Αἰσχίνης ὅμως ἀκούσῃ δι' ἃ φημι καὶ τούτων τῶν προβεβουλευμένων καὶ πολλῶν μειζόνων ἔτι τούτων δωρεῶν δίκαιος εἶναι τυγχάνειν. Καί μοι λέγε τὴν γραφὴν αὐτὴν† λαβάν.

ΓΡΑΦΗ.

Ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου‡ ἄρχοντος, ἐλαφροβολιῶνος ἕκτη ἰσταμένου, Αἰσχίνης Ἀτρομήτου Κοθωκίδης ἀπῆνεγκε πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα παρανόμων γραφὴν κατὰ Κτησιφάντος τοῦ Λεωσθένους Ἀναφλυστίου, ὅτι ἔγραψε παράνομον ψήφισμα, ὡς ἄρα δεῖ στεφανῶσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις, τραγωδοῖς καὶ κωμοῖς, ὅτι στεφανοῖ ὁ δῆμος Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα, καὶ εὐνοίας ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ εἰς τε τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἅπαντας καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας, καὶ διότι διατελεῖ πράττων καὶ λέγων τὰ βέλτιστα τῷ δήμῳ καὶ πρόθυμός ἐστι ποιεῖν ὅτι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθόν, πάντα ταῦτα ψευδῇ γράφας καὶ παράνομα, τῶν νόμων οὐκ ἑόντων πρῶτον μὲν

* ἀπολογισασθαι.

† ταυτην.

‡ Χαιρωνίδου.

ψευδεῖς γραφας εἰς τὰ δημόσια γράμματα καταβάλλεσθαι, εἴτα τὸν ὑπεύθυνον στεφανοῦν (ἔστι δὲ Δημοσθένης τειχοποιὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ* τεταγμένος), ἔτι δὲ μὴ ἀναγορεύειν τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τραγῳδῶν τῇ καινῇ, ἀλλ' εἰάν μὲν ἡ βουλὴ στεφανοῖ, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἀναιπεῖν, εἰάν δὲ ἡ πόλις, ἐν Πυκνὴ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. τίμημα τάλαντα πεντήκοντα. κλήτορες† Κηφισοφῶν Κηφισοφῶντος Ῥαμνούσιος, Κλέων Κλέωνος Κοβωκίδης.

Ἄ μὲν διώκει τοῦ ψηφίσματος, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ταῦτ' ἐστίν. ἐγὼ δ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν τούτων πρῶτον οἶμαι δῆλον ὑμῖν ποιήσειν ὅτι πάντα δικαίως ἀπολογήσομαι· τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν τούτῳ ποιησάμενος τῶν γεγραμμένων τάξιν περὶ πάντων ἐρῶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐφεξῆς καὶ οὐδὲν ἐκὼν παραλείψω. τοῦ‡ μὲν οὖν γράψαι πράττοντα καὶ λέγοντα τὰ βέλτιστά με τῷ δήμῳ διατελεῖν καὶ πρόθυμον εἶναι ποιεῖν ὃ τι ἂν δύναμαι ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἐπαινεῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐν τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι§ νομίζω· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων ἐξεταζομένων εὐρεθήσεται, εἴτε ἀληθὴ περὶ ἐμοῦ γέγραφε Κτησιφῶν ταῦτα καὶ προσήκοντα εἴτε καὶ ψευδῇ· τὸ δὲ μὴ προσγράψαντα “ἐπειδὴν τὰς

* των θεωρικων.

† κλητηρες.

‡ το.

§ εἶναι μοι.

εὐθύνας δ᾽" στεφανοῦν, καὶ ἀνειπεῖν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τὸν στέφανον κελεῦσαι, κοινωνεῖν μὲν ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τοῦτο* τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις, εἴτε ἄξιός εἰμι τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ τῆς ἀναρρήσεως τῆς ἐν τούτοις εἴτε καὶ μή, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τοὺς νόμους δεικτέον εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ, καθ' οὓς ταῦτα γράφειν ἐξῆν τούτῳ.

Οὕτωςι μὲν ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι δικαίως καὶ ἀπλῶς τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἔγνωκα ποιεῖσθαι, βαδιοῦμαι δ' ἐπ' αὐτὰ ἃ πέπρακταί μοι. καί με μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ ἀπαρτᾶν τὸν λόγον τῆς γραφῆς, ἐὰν εἰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις καὶ λόγους ἐμπέσω· ὁ γὰρ διώκων τοῦ ψηφίσματος τὸ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν τὰ ἄριστα με καὶ γεγραμμένος ταῦτα ὡς οὐκ ἀληθῆ, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τοὺς περὶ ἀπάντων τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπολιτευμένων λόγους οἰκείους καὶ ἀναγκαίους τῇ γραφῇ† πεποιηκώς. εἴτα καὶ πολλῶν προαιρέσεων οὐσῶν τῆς πολιτείας τὴν περὶ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις εἰλόμην ἐγώ, ὥστε καὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις ἐκ τούτων δίκαιός εἰμι ποιεῖσθαι.

Ἄ μὲν οὖν πρὸ τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ δημηγορεῖν ἐμὲ προῦλαβε καὶ κατέσχε Φίλιππος, ἐάσω· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι τούτων εἶναι πρὸς ἐμέ· ἃ δ' ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐπέστην ἐγὼ διεκωλύθη, ταῦτα ἀναμνήσω καὶ τούτων ὑφέξω λόγον, τοσοῦτον ὑπειπών. πλεονέκτημα ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-

* κατὰ τοῦτο.

πολιτευομένων

† τῆς γραφῆς.

ναῖοι μέγα ὑπῆρξε* Φιλίππῳ. παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, οὐ τισὶν ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως, Φορὰν προδοτῶν καὶ δωροδόκων καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν ἀνθρώπων συνέβη γενέσθαι† τοσαύτην, ὅσην οὐδεὶς πω πρότερον μέμνηται γεγονυῖαν· οὗς συναγανιστὰς καὶ συνεργοὺς λαβὼν καὶ πρότερον κακῶς τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἔχοντας πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ στασιαστικῶς ἔτι χεῖρον διέθηκε, τοὺς μὲν ἐξαπατῶν, τοῖς δὲ διδούς, τοὺς δὲ πάντα τρόπον διαφθείρων, καὶ διέστησεν εἰς μέρη πολλὰ ἐνὸς τοῦ συμφέροντος ἅπασιν ὄντος, κωλύειν ἐκείνῳ μέγαν γίγνεσθαι. ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὲ καταστάσει καὶ ἔτι ἀγνοία τοῦ συνισταμένου καὶ φυομένου κακοῦ τῶν ἀπάντων Ἑλλήνων ὄντων δεῖ σκοπεῖν ὑμᾶς, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τί προσῆκον ἦν ἐλέσθαι πράττειν καὶ ποιεῖν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τούτων λόγον παρ' ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν· ὁ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἑαυτὸν τάξας τῆς πολιτείας εἰμι ἐγώ.

Πότερον αὐτὴν ἐχεῖν, Αἰσχίνη, τὸ φρόνημα ἀφεῖσαν καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν τὴν αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ Θετταλῶν καὶ Δολόπων τάξει συγκατακταῖσθαι Φιλίππῳ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχὴν καὶ τὰ τῶν προγόνων καλὰ καὶ δίκαια ἀναιρεῖν; ἢ τοῦτο μὲν μὴ ποιεῖν, δεινὸν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἃ δ' ἴωρα συμβησόμενα, εἰ μηδεὶς κωλύσει,‡ καὶ προησθάνεθ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐκ πολλοῦ, ταῦτα περιιδεῖν γιγνόμενα;

* ὑπῆρχε.

† γένεσθαι καὶ.

‡ κωλύσει.

Ἄλλὰ νῦν ἔγωγε τὸν μάλιστα ἐπιτιμῶντα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἡδέως ἂν ἐροίμην, τῆς ποίας μερίδος γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐβούλετ' * ἂν, πότερον τῆς συναιτίας τῶν συμβεβηκότων τοῖς Ἑλλησι κακῶν καὶ αἰσχυρῶν, ἧς ἂν Θετταλοὺς καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τούτων εἴποι τις, ἢ τῆς περιεωρακυίας ταῦτα γιγνόμενα ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ἰδίας πλεονεξίας ἐλπίδι, ἧς ἂν Ἀρκάδας καὶ Μεσσηνίους καὶ Ἀργεῖους θείημεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων πολλοί, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντες, χεῖρον ἡμῶν ἀπηλλάχασιν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν ὥς ἐκράτησε Φίλιππος ὅχρετ' εὐθύς ἀπὼν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἦγεν ἡσυχίαν, μήτε τῶν αὐτοῦ συμμάχων μήτε τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μηδένα μηδὲν λυπήσας, ὅμως ἦν ἂν τις κατὰ τῶν [οὐκ] ἐναντιωθέντων† οἷς ἔπραττεν ἐκείνος μέμψις καὶ κατηγορία· εἰ δὲ ὁμοίως ἀπάντων τὸ ἀξίωμα, τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν περιείλετο, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τὰς πολιτείας, ὅσων ἡδύνατο, πῶς οὐχ ἀπάντων ἰδοξότατα ὑμεῖς ἐβουλεύσασθε ἐμοὶ πεισθέντες; Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖσε ἐπανέρχομαι. τί τὴν πόλιν, Αἰσχίνη, προσῆκε ποιεῖν ἀρχὴν καὶ τυραννίδα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὀργᾶσαν ἑαυτῷ κατασκευαζόμενον Φίλιππον; ἢ τί τὸν σύμβουλον ἔδει λέγειν ἢ γράφειν τὸν Ἀθήνησιν ἐμέ (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο πλεῖστον διαφέρει), ὃς συνήδειν μὲν ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου

* ἐβούλετ'.

† τῶν ἐναντιωθέντων.

μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης, ἀφ' ἧς* αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ
βῆμα ἀνέβην, αἰεὶ περὶ πρωτείων καὶ τιμῆς καὶ
δόξης ἀγωνιζομένην τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ πλείω καὶ
σώματα καὶ χρήματα ἀναλωκυῖαν† ὑπὲρ φιλοτι-
μίας καὶ τῶν πᾶσι συμφερόντων ἢ τῶν ἄλλων
Ἑλλήνων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀναλώκασιν ἕκαστοι, ἐώρων
δ' αὐτὸν τὸν Φίλιππον, πρὸς ὃν ἦν ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγών,
ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκε-
κομμένον, τὴν κλεῖν κατεαγέτα, τὴν χειῖρα, τὸ σκέ-
λος πεπηρωμένον, πᾶν ὅ τι‡ βουληθείη μέρος ἡ τύχη
τοῦ σώματος παρελῆσθαι, τοῦτο [ῥαδίως καὶ ἐτοι-
μως] προϊέμενον, ὥστε τῷ λοιπῷ μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ
δόξης ζῆν. καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτό γε οὐδεὶς ἂν
εἰπεῖν τολμήσειεν, ὥς τῷ μὲν ἐν Ἡέλλῃ τραφέντι,
χωρὶς ἀδόξῃ τότε γε ὄντι καὶ μικρῷ, τοσαύτην
μεγαλοψυχίαν προσῆκεν ἐγγενέσθαι, ὥστε τῆς
τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμῆσαι καὶ τοῦτ' εἰς
τὸν νοῦν ἐμβαλέσθαι, ὑμῖν δ' οὖσιν Ἀθηναίοις
καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἑκάστην ἐν πᾶσι καὶ λόγοις
καὶ θεωρήμασι§ τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς ὑπομνή-
μαθ' ὁρῶσι τοσαύτην κακίαν ὑπάρχειν, ὥστε τῆς
τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας αὐτεπαγγέλτους ἐθελον-
τὰς παραχωρῆσαι Φιλίππῳ. οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ταῦτα
φήσιεν.

Λοιπὸν τοίνυν ἦν καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἅμα πᾶσι

* ἐφ' ἧς.

† ἀναλωκυῖαν.

‡ τι ἂν.

§ θεωρήματι.

οἷς ἐκεῖνος ἔπραττεν ἀδικῶν ὑμᾶς ἐναντιοῦσθαι
δικαίως. τοῦτ' ἐποιεῖτε μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰκότως
καὶ προσηκόντως, ἔγραφον δὲ καὶ συνεβούλευον
καὶ ἐγὼ καθ' οὓς ἐπολιτευόμεν χρόνους. ὁμο-
λογῶ. ἀλλὰ τί ἐχρῆν με ποιεῖν; ἤδη γάρ σ'
ἔρωτῶ, πάντα τᾶλλ' ἀφείς, Ἀμφίπολιν, Πύδναν,
Ποτίδαιαν, Ἀλόννησον· οὐδενὸς τούτων μέμνημαι·
Ξερρίον δὲ καὶ Δορίσκον καὶ τὴν Πεπαρήθου
πόρθῃσιν καὶ ὅσ' ἄλλα τοιαῦτα ἢ πόλις ἠδίκητο,
οὐδ' εἰ γέγονεν οἶδα. καίτοι σύ γ' ἔφησθά με
ταῦτα λέγοντα εἰς ἔχθραν ἐμβαλεῖν τουτουσί,
Εὐβούλου καὶ Ἀριστοφῶντος καὶ Διοπίθους τῶν
περὶ τούτων ψηφισμάτων ὄντων, οὐκ ἐμῶν, ᾧ λέγαν
εὐχερῶς ὅτι ἀν* βουλευθῆς. οὐδὲ νῦν περὶ τούτων
ἔρω. ἀλλ' ὁ τὴν Εὐβοίαν ἐκεῖνος σφετεριζόμενος
καὶ κατασκευάζων ἐπιτείχισμα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν,
καὶ Μεγάροις ἐπιχειρῶν, καὶ καταλαμβάνων
Ὠρεόν, καὶ κατασκάπτων Πορθμόν, καὶ καθιστὰς
ἐν μὲν Ὠρεῶ Φιλιστίδην τύραννον ἐν δ' Ἐρετρίᾳ
Κλείταρχον, καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ†
ποιούμενος, καὶ Βυζάντιον πολιορκῶν, καὶ πόλεις
Ἑλληνίδας ἃς μὲν ἀναιρῶν, εἰς ἃς‡ δὲ τοὺς φυ-
γάδας κατάγων, πότερον ταῦτα πάντα ποιῶν
ἠδίκηι καὶ παρεσπόνδει καὶ ἔλυσεν τὴν εἰρήνην ἢ οὐ;
καὶ πότερον φανῆναί τινα τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸν ταῦτα

* παν ὁ τι. † εφ' ἑαυτῷ. ‡ τας.

καλύσονται ποιεῖν αὐτὸν ἐχρῆν ἢ μή; εἰ μὲν γὰρ μὴ ἐχρῆν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Μυσῶν λείαν καλουμένην τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὔσαν ὀφθῆναι ζώντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ ὄντων, περιεῖργασμαι μὲν ἐγὼ περὶ τούτων* εἰπὼν, περιεῖργασται δ' ἡ πόλις ἡ πεισθεῖσα ἐμοί, ἔστω δὲ ἀδικήματα πάντα ἃ πέπρακται καὶ ἁμαρτήματα ἐμά. εἰ δὲ ἔδει τινὰ τούτων κωλυτὴν φανῆναι, τίνα ἄλλον ἢ τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμοι προσῆκε† γενέσθαι; ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐπολιτευόμην ἐγώ, καὶ ὄρων καταδουλούμενον πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐκεῖνον ἡναντιούμην, καὶ προλέγων καὶ διδάσκων μὴ προῖ-
εσθαι‡ ταῦτα Φιλίππῳ διετέλουν.

Καὶ μὴν τὴν εἰρήνην γ' ἐκεῖνος ἔλυσε τὰ πλοῖα λαβάν, οὐχ ἡ πόλις, Αἰσχίνη. Φέρε δὲ αὐτὰ τὰ ψηφίσματα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου, καὶ λέγε ἐφεξῆς· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων ἐξεταζομένων, τίς τίνος αἰτίος ἐστι, γενήσεται φανερόν. λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Νεοκλέους, § μηνὸς βοηδρομιῶνος, ἐκκλησίας συγκλήτου ὑπὸ στρατηγῶν συναχθείσης, Εὐβουλος Μνησιθέου Κύπριος εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ προσ-
ήγγειλαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὡς ἄρα Λεωδάμαντα τὸν ναύαρχον καὶ τὰ μετ' αὐτοῦ

* περὶ των τοιούτων.

§ Νικοκλεους.

† προσηκει.

‡ προεισθαι.

|| Λεωμεδοντα.

ἀποσταλέντα σκάφη εἴκοσιν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ σίτου
 παραπομπὴν εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον ὁ παρὰ Φιλίππου
 στρατηγὸς Ἀμύντας καταγέγονεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν
 καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχει, ἐπιμεληθῆναι τοὺς πρυτάνεις
 καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς, ὅπως ἡ βουλὴ συναχθῶσι*
 καὶ αἰρεθῶσι πρέσβεις πρὸς Φίλιππον, οἳ τινες
 παραγενόμενοι διαλέζονται πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ
 ἀφεθῆναι τὸν ναύαρχον† καὶ τὰ πλοῖα καὶ τοὺς
 στρατιώτας. καὶ εἰ μὲν δι' ἄγνοίαν ταῦτα πε-
 ποίηκεν ὁ Ἀμύντας, ὅτι οὐ μεμψιμοιρεῖ ὁ δῆμος
 οὐδὲν αὐτῷ· εἰ δέ τι πλημμελοῦντα παρὰ τὰ ἐπε-
 σταλμένα‡ λαβάν, ὅτι ἐπισκεψάμενοι Ἀθηναῖοι
 ἐπιτιμήσουσι κατὰ τὴν τῆς ὀλιγωρίας ἀξίαν. εἰ
 δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ ἀγνωμονοῦσιν
 ἢ ὁ ἀποστείλας ἢ ὁ ἀπεσταλμένος, καὶ τοῦτο
 γράψαι λέγειν, ἵνα αἰσθανόμενος ὁ δῆμος βου-
 λεύσῃται τί δεῖ ποιεῖν.

Τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν τὸ ψήφισμα Εὐβουλος
 ἔγραψεν, οὐκ ἐγώ, τὸ δ' ἐφεξῆς Ἀριστοφῶν, εἴθ'
 Ἡγήσιππος, εἴτ' Ἀριστοφῶν πάλιν, εἴτα Φιλο-
 κράτης, εἴτα Κηφισοφῶν, εἴτα πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι
 ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν περὶ τούτων. Λέγε τὸ ψήφισμα.

* συναχθῆ.

† αρχόντα.

‡ ἐντεταλμένα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.*

Ἐπὶ Νικοκλέους† ἄρχοντος, Βοηδρομιῶνος ἔτη καὶ ἰεα, Βουλῆς γνώμη, πρυτάνεις καὶ στρατηγοὶ ἐχρημάτισαν τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνενεγκόντες,‡ ὅτι ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ πρέσβεις ἐλέσθαι πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ τῆς τῶν πλοίων ἀνακομιδῆς καὶ ἐντολὰς δοῦναι καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ψηφίσματα. καὶ εἶλοντο τούσδε, Κηφισοφῶντα Κλέωνος Ἀναφλύστιον, Δημόκριτον Δημοφῶντος Ἀναγυράσιον, Πολύκριτον Ἀπημάντου Κοβακίδην. πρυτανεία Φυλῆς Ἰπποβοωντίδος, Ἀριστοφῶν Κολυττεὺς πρόεδρος εἶπεν.

Ὡσπερ τοίνυν ἐγὼ ταῦτα δεικνύω τὰ ψηφίσματα, οὕτω καὶ σὺ δεῖξον, Λίσχινη, ποῖον ἐγὼ γράψας ψήφισμα αἰτίος εἰμι τοῦ πολέμου. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις· εἰ γὰρ εἶχες, οὐδὲν ἂν αὐτοῦ πρότερον νυνὶ παρίσχου.§ καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὁ Φίλιππος οὐδὲν αἰτιᾶται ἐμὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου, ἐτέροις ἐγκαλῶν. Λέγε δ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου.

* Βουλευμα. † Νικοκλέους. ‡ ἐνεγκόντες & ἀπενεγκόντες.

§ παρῆσχος.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.

Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ
 βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. παραγενόμενοι
 πρὸς ἐμὲ οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν πρεσβευταί, Κηφισοφῶν
 καὶ Δημόκριτος καὶ Πολύκριτος, διελέγοντο
 περὶ τῆς τῶν πλοίων ἀφέσεως* ὣν ἐναυάρχει Λαο-
 μέδων.† καθ' ὅλου μὲν οὖν ἔμοιγε φαίνεσθε ἐν
 μεγάλη εὐθείᾳ ἔσεσθαι, εἰ‡ οἶεσθ' ἐμὲ λανθάνειν
 ὅτι ἐξαπεστάλη ταῦτα§ τὰ πλοῖα πρόφασιν μὲν
 ἄς τὸν σῖτον παραπέμψοντα ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου
 εἰς Λῆμον, βοηθήσοντα δὲ Σηλυμβριανοῖς τοῖς
 ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μὲν πολιορκουμένοις, οὐ συμπεριειλημ-
 μένοις δὲ ἐν ταῖς τῆς φιλίας κοινῇ κειμέναις ἡμῖν
 συνθήκαις. καὶ ταῦτα συνετάχθη τῷ ναυάρχῳ
 ἄνευ μὲν τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ὑπὸ δὲ τινων
 ἀρχόντων καὶ ἐτέρων ἰδιωτῶν μὲν νῦν ὄντων, ἐκ
 παντὸς δὲ τρόπου βουλομένων τὸν δῆμον ἀντὶ
 τῆς νῦν ὑπαρχούσης πρὸς ἐμὲ φιλίας τὸν πό-
 λεμον ἀναλαβεῖν, πολλῷ μᾶλλον φιλοτιμου-
 μένων τοῦτο συντετελέσθαι|| ἢ τοῖς Σηλυμβριανοῖς
 βοηθῆσαι. καὶ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν αὐτοῖς τὸ τοι-
 οὔτο πρόσδοτον ἔσεσθαι· οὐ μέντοι μοι δοκεῖ τοῦτο
 χρήσιμον ὑπάρχειν οὔθ' ὑμῖν οὔτ' ἐμοί. διόπερ
 τά τε νῦν καταχθέντα πλοῖα πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφίημι

* ἀφαιρέσεως. † Λαοδαμίας. ‡ εἰ τουτ'. § μὲν ταυτα.

|| συντεταχθαι.

ὑμῖν, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ, εἰάν βούλησθε μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς προεστηκόσιν ὑμῶν κακοήτως πολιτεύεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπιτιμᾶτε, πειράσομαι καὶ γὰρ διαφυλάττειν τὴν εἰρήνην. εὐτυχεῖτε.

Ἐνταῦθ' οὐδαμοῦ Δημοσθένη γέγραφεν, οὐδ' αἰτίαν οὐδεμίαν κατ' ἐμοῦ. τί ποτ' οὖν ταῖς ἄλλοις ἐγκαλῶν τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπραγμένων οὐχὶ μέμνηται; ὅτι τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἂν ἐμέμνητο τῶν αὐτοῦ, εἴ τι περὶ ἐμοῦ γέγραφε* τούτων γὰρ εἰχόμην ἐγὼ καὶ τούτοις ἠναντιούμην. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν εἰς Πελοπόννησον πρεσβείαν ἔγραψα, ὅτε πρῶτον ἐκεῖνος εἰς Πελοπόννησον παρεδύετο,† εἶτα τὴν εἰς Εὐβοίαν, ἥνικ' Εὐβοίας ἤπτετο, εἶτα τὴν ἐπ' Ὠρεὸν ἔξοδον, οὐκέτι πρεσβείαν, καὶ τὴν εἰς Ἐφέτρίαν, ἐπεὶ δὴ τυράννους ἐκεῖνος ἐν ταύταις ταῖς πόλεσι κατέστησεν. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἅπαντας ἀπέστειλα, καὶ οὐς Χερρόνησος ἐσώθη καὶ Βυζάντιον καὶ πάντες οἱ σύμμαχοι. ἐξ ὧν ὑμῖν μὲν τὰ κάλλιστα, ἔκαινοι, δόξαι, τιμαί, στέφανοι, χάριτες παρὰ τῶν εὐπεποιθότων ὑπῆρχον· τῶν δ' ἀδικουμένων τοῖς μὲν ὑμῖν τότε πεισθεῖσιν ἡ σωτηρία περιεγένετο, τοῖς δ' ὀλιγωρήσασι τὸ πολλάκις ὧν ὑμεῖς προείπατε μεμνησθαι, καὶ νομίζειν ὑμᾶς μὴ μόνον εὔνους

* γιγραφει.

† παρεισεδύετο.

ἑαυτοῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ φρονίμους ἀνθρώπους καὶ μάντις εἶναι· πάντα γὰρ ἐκβέβηκεν ἅ προείπατε.

Καὶ μὴν ὅτι πολλὰ μὲν ἂν χρήματα ἔδωκε Φιλιστίδης ὥστ' ἔχειν Ὀρεόν, πολλὰ δὲ Κλείταρχος ὥστ' ἔχειν Ἐρέτριαν, πολλὰ δ' αὐτὸς ὁ Φίλιππος ὥστε ταῦθ' ὑπάρχειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς αὐτῶ, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων μηδὲν ἐξελέγχεσθαι μηδ' ἅ ποιῶν ἠδοίκει μηδένα ἐξετάζειν πανταχοῦ, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ, καὶ πάντων ἥκιστα σύ· οἱ γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ Κλείταρχου καὶ τοῦ Φιλιστίδου τότε πρέσβεις δεῦρ' ἀφικνούμενοι* παρὰ σοὶ κατέλυον, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ σὺ προὔξενεις αὐτῶν· οὓς ἡ μὲν πόλις ὡς ἐχθροὺς καὶ οὔτε δίκαια οὔτε συμφέροντα λέγοντας ἀπήλασε, σοὶ δ' ἦσαν φίλοι. οὐ τοίνυν ἐπράχθη τούτων οὐδέν, ᾧ βλασφημῶν περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ λέγων ὡς σιωπῶ μὲν λαβῶν, βοῶ δ' ἀναλώσας. ἀλλ' οὐ σύ γε, ἀλλὰ βοᾷς μὲν ἔχων, παύσει† δὲ οὐδέποτ', εἰ μὴ σε οὗτοι παύσωσιν ἀτιμώσαντες τήμερον.

Στεφανωσάντων τοίνυν ὑμῶν ἐμέ ἐπὶ τούτοις τότε, καὶ γράψαντος Ἀριστονίκου τὰς αὐτὰς συλλαβὰς ὥσπερ οὗτοσὶ Κτησιφῶν νῦν γέγραφε, καὶ ἀναρρήθέντος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τοῦ στεφάνου, καὶ δευτέρου κηρύγματος ἡδὴ μοι τούτου γιγνομένου, οὗτ' ἀντεῖπεν Αἰσχίνης παρὼν οὔτε τὸν

* ἀφικόμενοι.

† πανστ.

εἰπόντα ἐγράφατο. Καί μοι λέγε καὶ τοῦτο
τὸ ψήφισμα λαβάν.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Ἐπὶ Χαιράνδου Ἡγέμονος* ἄρχοντος, γαμη-
λιῶνος ἕκτη ἀπιόντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Λεον-
τίδος, Ἀριστόνικος Φρεάρριος† εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Δη-
μοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς πολλὰς καὶ
μεγάλας χρείας παρέσχηται τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθη-
ναίων καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν συμμάχων καὶ πρότερον,
καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ βεβοήθηκε διὰ τῶν
ψηφισμάτων, καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεων
ἠλευθέρωκε, καὶ διατελεῖ εὖνους ἂν τῷ δήμῳ τῷ
Ἀθηναίων, καὶ λέγει καὶ πράττει ὅτι ἂν δύνηται
ἀγαθὸν ὑπὲρ τε αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
Ἑλλήνων, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ
τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἐπαινέσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους
Παιανίᾳ καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ
ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις,
τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς, τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως τοῦ στε-
φάνου ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὴν πρυτανεύουσιν φυλὴν καὶ
τὸν ἀγανοθέτην. εἶπεν Ἀριστόνικος Φρεάρριος.

Ἔστιν οὖν ὅστις ὑμῶν οἶδὲ τινὰ αἰσχύνῃν τῇ

* Ἡγέμονος.

† Φρεαρριος.

πόλει συμβᾶσαν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἢ χλευασμὸν ἢ γέλωτα, ἃ νῦν οὗτος ἔφη συμβήσεσθαι, ἐὰν ἐγὼ στεφανῶμαι; καὶ μὴν ὅταν ἡ νεία καὶ γνώριμα πᾶσι τὰ πράγματα, ἐὰν τε καλῶς ἔχη, χάριτος τυγχάνει, ἐὰν θ' ὡς ἑτέρως, τιμωρίας. Φαίνομαι τοίνυν ἐγὼ χάριτος τετυχηκὼς τότε, καὶ οὐ μέμψεως οὐδὲ τιμωρίας.

Οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τῶν χρόνων ἐπεινῶν, ἐν οἷς ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη, πάντας ἀνωμολόγηται τοὺς χρόνους τὰ ἄριστα πράττειν* τῇ πόλει, τῷ νικᾷν, ὅτ' ἐβουλευέσθε, λέγων καὶ γράφων, τῷ καταπραχθῆναι τὰ γραφέντα, καὶ στεφάνους ἐξ αὐτῶν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν γενέσθαι, τῷ θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ προσόδους† ὡς ἀγαθῶν τούτων ὄντων ὑμᾶς πεποιῆσθαι. Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὁ Φίλιππος ἐξηλάθη, τοῖς μὲν ὅπλοις ὑφ' ὑμῶν, τῇ δὲ πολιτείᾳ καὶ τοῖς ψηφίσμασι, καὶ διαρράγῳσιν τινες τούτων, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ἕτερον κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτειχισμὸν ἐζήτει. ὁρῶν δ' ὅτι σίτω πάντων ἀνθρώπων πλείστω χρώμεθ' ἐπείσάκτω, βουλόμενος τῆς σιτοπομπίας κύριος γενέσθαι, παρελθὼν ἐπὶ Θράκης Βυζαντίους συμμάχους ὄντας αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡξίου συμπολεμεῖν τὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς πόλεμον, ὡς δ' οὐκ ἤθελον οὐδ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔφα-

* πραττων.

† και προσόδους τοις θεοις.

σαν τὴν συμμαχίαν πεποιῆσθαι, λέγοντες ἀληθῆ, χαράκωμα* βαλόμενος πρὸς τῇ πόλει καὶ μηχανήματ' ἐπιστήσας ἐπολιόρκει. τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων ὅτι μὲν προσῆκε ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς, οὐκέτ' ἐρωτήσω† δῆλον γάρ ἐστιν ἅπασιν. ἀλλὰ τίς ἦν ὁ βοηθήσας τοῖς Βυζαντίοις καὶ σώσας αὐτούς; τίς ὁ κωλύσας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀλλοτριωθῆναι‡ κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους; ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. τὸ δ' ὑμεῖς ὅταν λέγω, τὴν πόλιν λέγω. τίς δ' ὁ τῇ πόλει λέγων καὶ γράφων καὶ πράττων καὶ ἀπλῶς ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὰ πρᾶγματα ἀφειδῶς διδούς;§ ἐγώ. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἤλίκα ταῦτα ὠφελῆσεν ἅπαντας, οὐκέτ' ἐκ λόγου δεῖ μαθεῖν,|| ἀλλ' ἔργῳ πεπειρασθε· ὁ γὰρ τότε ἐνστάς πόλεμος ἄνευ τοῦ καλὴν δόξαν ἐνεγκεῖν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀφθονωτέροις καὶ εὐαντοτέροις διήγαγεν ὑμᾶς τῆς νῦν εἰρήνης, ἣν οὗτοι κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος τηροῦσιν οἱ χρηστοὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς μελλούσαις ἐλπίσιν, ὧν διαμάρτοιν, καὶ μὴ μετὰσχοιεν ὧν ὑμεῖς οἱ τὰ βέλτιστα βουλόμενοι τοὺς θεοὺς αἰτεῖτε, μηδὲ μεταδοῖεν ὑμῖν ὧν αὐτοὶ προήρηνται. Λέγε δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς τῶν Βυζαντίων στεφάνους καὶ τοὺς τῶν Περινηίων, οἷς ἐστεφάνουν ἐκ τούτων τὴν πόλιν.

* χυράκωμα. † οὐκ ἐπερωτήσω ‡ ἀπαλλοτριωθῆναι.

§ δους.

|| μαθεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ'.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΩΝ.

Ἐπὶ ἱερομνάμονος Βοσπορίχῳ Δαμάγητος ἐν τῇ ἀλίᾳ* ἔλεξεν, ἐκ τῆς βωλᾶς λαβὼν ῥήτραν, ἐπειδὴ ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἐν τε τοῖς προγενομένοις καιροῖς εὐνοέων διατελεῖ Βυζαντίοις καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις καὶ συγγενέσι Περινθίοις καὶ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χρείας† παρῆσχηται, ἐν τε τῇ παρεστακότῃ καιρῷ Φιλίππῳ τῷ Μακεδόνοσ ἐπιστρατεύσαντος ἐπὶ τὰν χώραν καὶ τὰν πόλιν ἐπ' ἀναστάσει Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων καὶ τὰν χώραν δαίοντος καὶ δεινδροκοπέοντος, βοηθήσας πλοίοισιν ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ σίτῃ καὶ βέλεσι καὶ ὀπλίταις ἐξείλετο ἄμμε‡ ἐκ τῶν μεγάλων κινούνων καὶ ἀποκατέστασε τὰν πατριὸν πολιτείαν καὶ τὰς νόμους καὶ τὰς τάφους, δεδόχθαι§ τῷ δάμῳ τῷ Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων Ἀθηναίοις ὁρμεῖν ἐπιγαμίαν, πολιτείαν, ἔγκτασιν γᾶς καὶ οἰκτᾶν, προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι, πόθοδον|| ποτὶ τὰν βωλᾶν καὶ τὸν δᾶμον πρᾶτοις μετὰ τὰ ἱερά, καὶ τοῖς κατοικεῖν ἐθέλουσι τὰν πόλιν ἀλειτουργήτοις ἡμεν πασαῖν τὰν λειτουργιᾶν· σταῖσαι δὲ καὶ εἰκόνας τρεῖς ἑκαιδεκαπήχεις ἐν τῷ Βοσπορίχῳ, στεφανούμενον τὸν δᾶμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ὑπὸ τῷ δάμῳ τῷ¶ Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων· ἀποστεῖλαι δὲ καὶ

* ἐν Τεαλιφ.

† χαριτας.

‡ αμε & εμε.

§ δεδοχθω.

|| ποτι θολον.

¶ των.

θεωρίας ἐς τὰς ἐν τᾷ* Ἑλλάδι πανηγύριαις,
 Ἰσθμια καὶ Νέμεα καὶ Ὀλύμπια καὶ Πύθια,
 καὶ ἀνακαρῶσαι τὴν στεφάνωσιν ὡς† ἐστεφανώ-
 νται‡ ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἐπι-
 στέωνται οἱ Ἕλληνας πάντες Ἀθηναίων ἀρετὰν
 καὶ τὰν Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινηθίων εὐχαριστίαν.

Λέγε καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἐν Χερρόνησῳ στε-
 φάνους.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΧΕΡΡΟΝΗΣΙΤΩΝ.

Χερρόνησιτῶν οἱ κατοικοῦντες Σηστόν, Ἐλε-
 οῦντα, Μάδυτον, Ἀλαπεκόννησον, στεφανοῦσιν
 Ἀθηναίων τὴν βουλήν καὶ τὸν δῆμον χρυσῶ στε-
 φάνῳ ἀπὸ ταλάντων ἐξήκοντα, καὶ χάριτος βωμὸν
 ἰδρύονται καὶ δήμου Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι πάντων μεγί-
 στον ἀγαθὸν παρὰίτιος γέγονε§ Χερρόνησίταις,
 ἐξελόμενος ἐκ τῆς Φιλίππου καὶ ἀποδοὺς τὰς
 πατρίδας, τοὺς νόμους, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, τὰ ἱερά.
 καὶ ἐν τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα αἰῶνι παντὶ οὐκ ἐλλείψει
 εὐχαριστῶν καὶ ποιῶν ὃ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθόν.
 ταῦτα ἐψηφίσαντο ἐν κοινῷ βουλευτηρίῳ.

Οὐκοῦν οὐ μόνον τὸ Χερρόνησον καὶ Βυζάντιον
 σῶσαι, οὐδὲ τὸ καλῦσαι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑπὸ

* τε & τη.

† οἷς.

‡ συστεφανῶνται.

§ γεγονέναι.

Φιλίππῳ γενέσθαι τότε, οὐδὲ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τούτων ἢ προαίρεσις ἢ ἐμὴ καὶ ἡ πολιτεία διεπράξατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ἔδειξεν ἀνθρώποις τὴν τε τῆς πόλεως καλοκαγαθίαν καὶ τὴν Φιλίππου κακίαν. ὁ μὲν γε φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος ὦν τοῖς Βυζαντίοις πολιορκῶν αὐτοὺς ἰωρᾶτο ὑπὸ πάντων, οὗ τί γένοιτ' ἂν αἰσχίον ἢ μιαιώτερον, ὑμεῖς δ' οἱ καὶ μεμψάμενοι* πολλὰ καὶ δίκαια ἂν ἐκείνοις εἰκότως περὶ ὧν ἠγνωμονήκεσαν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις, οὐ μόνον οὐ μνησικακοῦντες οὐδὲ προῖέμενοι τοὺς ἀδικουμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ σώζοντες ἐφαίνεσθε, ἐξ ὧν δόξαν, εὖνοϊαν, τιμὴν παρὰ πάντων ἐκτᾶσθε. καὶ μὴν ὅτι μὲν πολλοὺς ἐστεφανώκατ' ἤδη τῶν πολιτευομένων,† ἅπαντες ἴσασι· δι' ὅντινα δ' ἄλλον ἢ πόλιν ἐστεφάνωται, σύμβουλον λέγω καὶ ῥήτορα, πλὴν δι' ἐμέ, οὐδ' ἂν εἰς εἰπεῖν ἔχοι.

Ἵνα τοίνυν, καὶ τὰς βλασφημίας, αἷς κατὰ τῶν Εὐβοέων‡ καὶ τῶν Βυζαντίων ἐποιήσατο, εἴ τι δυσχερὲς αὐτοῖς ἐπέπρακτο πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὑπομιμνήσκων, συκοφαντίας οὔσας ἐπιδείξω μὴ μόνον τῷ ψευδεῖς εἶναι (τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὑπάρχειν ὑμᾶς εἰδότες ἠγοῦμαι) ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ, εἰ τὰ μάλιστ' ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς, οὕτως ὡς ἐγὼ κέχρημαι τοῖς πράγμασι συμφέζειν χρῆσασθαι, ἐν ᾧ δύο βούλομαι τῶν καθ'

* οἱ μεμψάμενοι.

† πεπολιτευμένων.

‡ Εὐβοῶν.

ὑμᾶς πεπραγμένων καλῶν τῇ πόλει διεξελθεῖν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν βραχείῃ· καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρα ἰδίᾳ καὶ πόλιν κοινῇ, πρὸς τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αἰεὶ δεῖ πειρᾶσθαι τὰ λοιπὰ πράττειν.

ἽΤμεῖς τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Λακεδαιμονίαν γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἀρχόντων καὶ τὰ κύκλῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς κατεχόντων ἀρμοσταῖς καὶ φρουραῖς, Εὐβοίαν, Τάναγραν, τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἅπασαν, Μέγαρα, Αἴγιναν, Κλεωνάς, τὰς ἄλλας νήσους, οὐ ναῦς, οὐ τεῖχῃ τῆς πόλεως τότε κεκτημένης, ἐξήλθετε εἰς Ἀλῖαρτον καὶ πάλιν οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὕστερον εἰς Κόρινθον, τῶν τότε Ἀθηναίων πόλλ' ἂν ἐχόντων μνησικακῆσαι καὶ Κορινθίοις καὶ Θηβαίοις τῶν περὶ τὸν Δεκελεικὸν πόλεμον πραχθέντων· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐποίουν τοῦτο,* οὐδ' ἐγγύς. καίτοι τότε ταῦτα ἀμφοτέρω, Αἰσχίνῃ, οὐβ' ὑπὲρ εὐεργετῶν ἐποίουν οὐτ' ἀκίνδυνα ἐώρων. ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ ταῦτα πρᾶειντο† τοὺς καταφεύγοντας ἐφ' ἑαυτούς,‡ ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ εὐδοξίας καὶ τιμῆς ἤθελον τοῖς δεινοῖς αὐτοὺς δίδοναι, ὀρθῶς καὶ καλῶς βουλευόμενοι. πέρας μὲν γὰρ ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ τοῦ βίου θάνατος, καὶ ἐν οἰκίσκῳ τις αὐτὸν καθεύδων τηρεῖ· δεῖ δὲ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἐγχειρεῖν § μὲν ἅπασιν αἰεὶ τοῖς καλοῖς, τὴν ἀγαθὴν προβαλλομένους ἐλπίδα, φέρειν δ' ὅ τι ἂν ὁ θεὸς διδῶ γενναίως. ταῦτ'

* οὐκ ἐποίουντο † προείποντο. ‡ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς. § ἐπιχειρεῖν.

ἵποιοῦν οἱ ὑμέτεροι πρόγονοι, ταῦθ' ὑμῶν* οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, οἱ Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ φίλους ὄντας οὐδ' εὐεργέτας, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἡδίκηκότας καὶ μεγάλα, ἐπειδὴ Θηβαῖοι κρατήσαντες ἐν Λεύκτροις ἀνελεῖν ἐπεχείρουν, διεκωλύσατε, οὐ φοβηθέντες τὴν τότε Θηβαίοις ῥάμην καὶ δόξαν ὑπάρχουσαν, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ οἷα πεποιηκότων ἀνθρώπων κινδυνεύσετε διαλογισάμενοι, καὶ γὰρ τοι πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐδείξατε ἐκ τούτων ὅτι καὶ ὅτιοῦν τις εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐξαμάρτη, τούτῳ τὴν ὀργὴν εἰς τᾶλλα ἔχετε,† ἂν δ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἢ ἐλευθερίας κίνδυνός τις αὐτοὺς καταλαμβάνη, οὔτε μνησικακήσετε οὔθ' ὑπολογισθεῖτε.

Καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτων μόνον οὕτως ἐσχήκατε, ἀλλὰ πάλιν σφετεριζομένων Θηβαίων τὴν Εὐβοίαν οὐ περιείδετε, οὐδ' ἂν ὑπὸ Θεμίσωνος καὶ Θεοδώρου περὶ Ὠρωπὸν ἡδίκησθε ἀνεμνήσθητε, ἀλλ' ἐβοηθήσατε καὶ τούτοις, τῶν ἐθελοντῶν τότε τριηράρχων πρῶτον γενομένων τῇ πόλει, ἂν εἷς ἦν ἐγώ. ἀλλ' οὔπω περὶ τούτων. καίτοι καλὸν μὲν ἐποιήσατε καὶ τὸ σῶσαι τὴν νῆσον, πολλῶν δ' ἔτι τούτου κάλλιον τὸ καταστάντες κύριοι καὶ τῶν σωμάτων, καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἀποδοῦναι ταῦτα δικαίως αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἐξημαρτηκόσιν εἰς ὑμᾶς, μηδὲν ἂν ἡδίκησθε ἐν οἷς ἐπιστεύθητε ὑπολογισάμενοι.

* ἡμῶν.

† ἐχετε.

Μυρία τοίνυν ἕτερα εἰπεῖν ἔχον παραλείπω, ναυμαχίας, ἐξόδους πεζάς, στρατείας, καὶ πάσαι γεγонуίας καὶ νῦν ἐφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, ἃς ἀπάσας ἡ πόλις τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἔνεχ' Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας πεποίηται. εἴτ' ἐγὼ τεθεωρηκῶς ἐν τοσούτοις καὶ τοιούτοις τὴν πόλιν ὑπὲρ τῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις συμφερόντων ἐθέλουσαν ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τρόπον τινὰ τῆς βουλῆς* οὔσης τι ἔμελλον κελεύσειν ἢ τί συμβουλεύσειν αὐτῇ ποιεῖν; μνησικακεῖν† νῆ Δία πρὸς τοὺς βουλομένους σώζεσθαι, καὶ προφάσεις ζητεῖν δι' ἃς ἅπαντα προησόμεθα. καὶ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀπέκτεινέ με δικαίως, εἴ τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ πόλει καλῶν λόγῳ μόνον καταισχύνειν ἐπεχείρησα; ἐπεὶ τόγε ἔργον οὐκ ἂν ἐποίησας ὑμεῖς, ἀκριβῶς οἷδ' ἐγώ· εἰ γὰρ ἠβούλεσθε, τί ἦν ἐμποδόν; οὐκ ἐξῆν; οὐχ ὑπῆρχον οἱ ταυτ' ἐρῶντες οὔτοι;

Βούλομαι τοίνυν ἐπανελθεῖν ἐφ' ἃ τούτων ἐξῆς ἐπολιτευόμεν· καὶ σκοπεῖτε ἐν τούτοις πάλιν αὖ, τί τὸ τῇ πόλει βέλτιστον ἦν. ὁρῶν γὰρ ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ ναυτικὸν ὑμῶν καταλυόμενον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλουσίους ἀτελεῖς ἀπὸ μικρῶν‡ ἀναλωμάτων γιγνομένους, τοὺς δὲ μέτρια ἢ μικρὰ‡ κεκτημένους τῶν πολιτῶν τὰ ὄντα ἀπολλύντας, ἔτι δ' ὑστερίζουσιν ἐκ τούτων τὴν πόλιν τῶν καιρῶν, ἔθηκα νόμον καθ' ὃν τοὺς μὲν τὰ δίκαια

* συμβουλῆς. † μνησικακησεῖν. ‡ σμικρῶν & σμικρά.

ποιεῖν ἡνάγκασα, τοὺς πλουσίους, τοὺς δὲ πένητας ἔπαυσ' ἀδικουμένους, τῇ πόλει δ' ὅπερ ἦν χρησιμώτατον, ἐν καιρῷ γίγνεσθαι τὰς παρασκευὰς* ἐποίησα. καὶ γραφεῖς τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσῆλθον καὶ ἀπέφυγον, καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων ὁ διώκων οὐκ ἔλαβεν. καίτοι πόσα† χρήματα τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν συμμοριῶν ἢ τοὺς δευτέρους καὶ τρίτους οἷσθέ μοι δίδοναι, ὥστε μάλιστα μὲν μὴ θεῖναι τὸν νόμον τοῦτον, εἰ δὲ μή, καταβαλόντα ἔαν ἐν ὑπωμοσίᾳ; τοσαῦτ', ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅσα ὀκνήσαιμ' ἂν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν. καὶ ταῦτ' εἰκότως ἔπραττον ἐκεῖνοι. ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκ μὲν τῶν προτέρων νόμων συνεκκαίδεκα λειτουργεῖν, αὐτοῖς μὲν μικρὰ καὶ οὐδὲν ἀναλίσκουσι, τοὺς δ' ἀπόρους τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπιτρίβουσιν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νόμου τὸ γιγνόμενον κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ἕκαστον τιθέναι, καὶ δυοῖν ἐφάνη τριῆραρχος ὁ τῆς μιᾶς ἕκτος καὶ δέκατος πρότερον συντελής· οὐδὲ γὰρ τριηράρχους ἔτι ἀνόμαζον‡ ἑαυτούς, ἀλλὰ συντελεῖς. ὥστε δὴ ταῦτα λυθῆναι καὶ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἀναγκασθῆναι, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅ τι οὐκ ἐδίδοσαν. Καί μοι λέγε πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ψήφισμα καθ' ὃ εἰσῆλθον τὴν γραφὴν, εἴτα τοὺς καταλόγους, τὸν τ' ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου νόμου καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὸν ἐμόν. λέγε.

* ναυτικὰς παρασκευὰς. † ποσ' ἀν. ‡ ἐπωνομαζόν.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Πολυκλέους, μηνὸς βοηδρομιῶνος ἕκτη ἐπὶ δέκα, Φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Ἱπποθωντίδος, Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς εἰσήνεγκε νόμον εἰς τὸ τριηραρχικὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ προτέρου, καθ' ὃν* αἱ συντέλειαι ἦσαν τῶν τριηράρχων· καὶ ἐπεχειροτόνησεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος· καὶ ἀπήνεγκε πασανόμων Δημοσθένει Πατροκλῆς Φλυεύς, καὶ τὸ μέρος† τῶν ψήφων οὐ λαβὼν ἀπέτισε τὰς πεντακοσίας δραχμάς.

Φέρε δὴ καὶ τὸν καλὸν κατάλογον.

ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ.

Τοὺς τριηράρχους‡ καλεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν τρίστην συνεκκαίδεκα ἐκ τῶν ἐν τοῖς λόχοις συντελειῶν, ἀπὸ εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ἐτῶν εἰς τετταράκοντα, ἐπὶ ἴσον τῇ χορηγίᾳ χρωμένους.

Φέρε δὴ παρὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νόμου κατάλογον.

ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ.

Τοὺς τριηράρχους αἰρεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν τρίστην ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας κατὰ τίμησιν, ἀπὸ ταλάντων δέκα·

* καθ' ὃ.

† το πέμπτον μέρος.

‡ τριηραρχας.

εἶναι δὲ πλείονων ἢ οὐσία ἀποτετιμημένη ἢ χρημάτων, κατὰ τὸν ἀναλογισμὸν ἕως τριῶν πλοίων καὶ ὑπηρετικοῦ ἢ λειτουργία ἔστω. κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ ἀναλογίαν ἔστω καὶ οἷς ἐλάττων οὐσία ἐστὶ τῶν δέκα ταλάντων, εἰς συντέλειαν συναγομένοις εἰς τὰ δέκα τάλαντα.

Ἄρα γε μικρὰ βοηθῆσαι τοῖς πένησιν ὑμῶν* δοκῶ, ἢ μικρὰ ἀναλῶσαι ἂν τοῦ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν οἱ πλούσιοι; οὐ τοίνυν μόνον τῷ μὴ καθυφεῖναι ταῦτα σεμνύνομαι, οὐδὲ τῷ γραφεῖς ἀποφυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ συμφέροντα θεῖναι τὸν νόμον καὶ τῷ πεῖραν ἔργῳ δεδωκέναι. πάντα γὰρ τὸν πόλεμον τῶν ἀποστόλων γιγνομένων κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν ἐμὸν οὐχ ἱκετηρίαν ἔθηκε τριήραρχος† οὐδεὶς πάποθ' ὡς ἀδικούμενος παρ' ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἐν Μουνυχίᾳ ἐκαθέζετο, οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστολέων‡ ἐδέθη, οὐ τριήρης οὐτ' ἔξω καταληφθεῖσα ἀπώλετο τῇ πόλει, οὐτ' αὐτοῦ ἀπελείφθη οὐ δυναμένη ἀνάγεσθαι. καίτοι κατὰ τοὺς προτέρους νόμους ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο. τὸ δ' αἴτιον, ἐν τοῖς πένησιν ἦν τὸ λειτουργεῖν· πολλὰ δὲ τὰ ἀδύνατα συνέβαιναν. ἐγὼ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων εἰς τοὺς εὐπόρους μετήνεγκα τὰς τριηραρχίας· πάντ' οὖν τὰ δέοντα ἐγίγνετο. καὶ μὴν καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἄξιός εἰμι ἐπαίνου τυχεῖν, ὅτι πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα

* ὑμῖν.

† τριηραρχης.

‡ ἀποστολων.

προκρούμεν πολιτεύματα, ἀφ' ὧν ἅμα δόξαι καὶ τιμαὶ καὶ δυνάμεις συνέβαινον τῇ πόλει· βάσκα-
νον δὲ καὶ πικρὸν καὶ κακὸς ἦτο· οὐδὲν ἐστὶ πολί-
τευμα ἐρόν, οὐδὲ ταπεινόν, οὐδὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀνά-
ξιον. ταὐτὸ τοίνυν ἦθος ἔχων ἐν τε τοῖς κατὰ τὴν
πόλιν πολιτεύμασι καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς φανήσο-
μαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰς παρὰ τῶν πλου-
σίων χάριτας μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν πολλῶν δίκαια
εἰλόμεν, οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς τὰ Φιλίππου
δῶρα καὶ τὴν ξενίαν ἠγάπησα ἀντὶ τῶν κοινῇ πᾶσι
τοῖς Ἕλλησι συμφερόντων.

Ἦγοῦμαι τοίνυν λοιπὸν εἶναί μοι περὶ τοῦ
κρυφύματος εἰπεῖν καὶ τῶν εὐθυνῶν· τὸ γὰρ ὡς τὰ
ἄριστα τε* ἔπραττον καὶ διὰ παντὸς εὖνους εἰμί καὶ
προθύμος εὖ ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἱκανῶς ἐκ τῶν εἰρημέων
δεδηλωσθαί μοι νομίζω. καίτοι τὰ μέγιστα γε
τῶν πεπολιτευμένων καὶ πεπραγμένων ἐμαυτῷ
παραλείπω, ὑπολαμβάνω πρῶτον μὲν ἐφεξῆς τοὺς
περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ παρανόμου λόγους ἀποδοῦναι με-
δεῖν, εἴτα, καὶ μηδὲν εἶπω περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πολι-
τευμάτων, ὁμοίως παρ' ὑμῶν ἐκάστω τὸ συνειδὸς
ὑπάρχειν μοι.

Τῶν μὲν οὖν λόγων, οὓς οὗτος ἄνω καὶ κάτω
διακυκλῶ† ἔλεγε περὶ τῶν παραγεγραμμένων νό-
μων, οὔτε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμᾶς οἶμαι μαινθάνειν,

οὐτ' αὐτὸς ἡδυνάμην συνεῖναι* τοὺς πολλοὺς·† ἀπλῶς δὲ τὴν ὀρθὴν περὶ τῶν δικαίων διαλέξομαι. τοσούτου γὰρ δέω λέγειν ὥς οὐκ εἰμὶ ὑπεύθυνος, ὃ νῦν οὗτος διέβαλλε καὶ διαwrίζετο, ὥσθ' ἅπαντα τὸν βίον ὑπεύθυνος εἶναι ὁμολογῶ ὧν ἢ διακεχεῖ-
 ρικα ἢ πεπολίτευμαι παρ' ὑμῖν. ὧν μέντοι γε ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ἐπαγγειλάμενος δέδωκα τῷ δήμῳ, οὐδεμίαν ἡμέραν ὑπεύθυνος εἶναί φημι (ἀκούεις Λισχίνη;) οὐδ' ἄλλον οὐδένα, οὐδ' ἂν τῶν ἐνέα ἀρχόντων τις ὧν τύχη. τίς γάρ ἐστι νόμος τοσαύτης ἀδικίας καὶ μισανθρωπίας μεστός, ὥστε τὸν δόντα τι τῶν ἰδίων καὶ ποιήσαντα πρᾶγμα φιλόανθρωπον καὶ φιλόδαρον τῆς χάριτος μὲν ἀποστερεῖν, εἰς δὲ τοὺς συκοφάντας ἄγειν, καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ τὰς εὐθύνας ὧν ἔδωκεν ἐφιστάναι; οὐδὲ εἷς. εἰ δὲ φησιν οὗτος, δειξάτω, καὶ γὰρ στέρξω καὶ σιωπήσομαι. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλ' οὗτος συκοφαντῶν, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ τότε ὧν ἐπέδωκα τὰ χρήματα, ἐπήνεσεν αὐτόν φησιν ἢ βουλὴ ὑπεύθυνον ὄντα. οὐ περὶ τούτων γε οὐδενός, ὧν ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς ἐπέδωκα, ᾧ συκοφάντα. ἀλλὰ καὶ τειχοποιὸς ἦσθα, φησί. καὶ διὰ γε τοῦτο ὀρθῶς ἐπηνούμην, ὅτι τὰν ηλωμένα ἐπέδωκα καὶ οὐκ ἐλογιζόμην. ὁ μὲν γὰρ λογισμὸς εὐθυῶν‡ καὶ τῶν ἐξετασόντων προσδεῖται,

* συνεῖναι.

† πολλοὺς αὐτῶν.

‡ εὐθυῶντων.

ἡ δὲ δωρεὰ χάριτος καὶ ἐπαίνου δικαία ἐστὶ τυγχάνειν· διόπερ ταῦτ' ἔγραψεν ὁδὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ·

“Ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτα* οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἤθεσιν ᾤρισταί, ἐγὼ ῥαδίως πολλαχόθεν δείξω. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ Ναυσικλῆς στρατηγῶν, ἐφ' οἷς ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων προεῖτο, πολλάκις ἐστεφάνωται ὑφ' ὑμῶν· εἴθ' ὅτι τὰς ἀσπίδας Διότιμος ἔδωκε καὶ πάλιν Χαρίδημος, ἐστεφανοῦντο· εἴθ' οὕτοσὶ Νεοπτόλεμος πολλῶν ἔργων ἐπιστάτης ᾦν, ἐφ' οἷς ἐπέδωκε, τετίμηται. σχέτλιον γὰρ ἂν εἴη τοῦτό γε, εἰ τῷ τινὰ ἀρχὴν ἄρχοντι ἢ δίδοναι τῇ πόλει τὰ ἑαυτοῦ διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ ἐξέσται, ἢ τῶν δοθέντων ἀντὶ τοῦ κομίσασθαι χάριν εὐθύνας ὑφέξει.† “Ὅτι τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, λέγε τὰ ψηφίσματά μοι τὰ τούτοις γεγενημένα αὐτὰ λαβάν. λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

“Ἀρχων Δημόνικος Φλυεύς, βοηδρομιῶνος ἕκτη μετ' εἰκάδα, γνώμη‡ βουλῆς καὶ δήμου, Καλλίας Φρεάρριος εἶπεν ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ στεφανῶσαι Ναυσικλέα τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων, ὅτι Ἀθηναίων ὀπλιτῶν δισχιλίων ὄντων ἐν Ἰμβρῷ καὶ βοηθοῦντων τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν νῆσον, οὐ δυναμένου Φίλωνος τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως

* ταῦτα ἐχει καὶ οὐ.

† ὑφέξειν.

‡ γνωμην.

κεχειροτονημένου διὰ τοὺς χειμῶνας πλεῦσαι καὶ μισθοδοτῆσαι τοὺς ὀπλίτας, ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ἔδωκε καὶ οὐκ εἰσέπαξε τὸν δῆμον, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον Διονυσίοις τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς.

ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Εἶπε Καλλίας Φρεάρριος, πρυτάνεων λεγόντων Βουλῆς* γνώμη,† ἐπειδὴ Χαρίδημος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, ἀποσταλὴς εἰς Σαλαμῖνα, καὶ Διότιμος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἰππέων, ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μάχῃ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινῶν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων σκυλευθέντων, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων καθάπλισαν τοὺς νεανίσκους ἀσπίσιν ὀκτακοσίαις, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ στεφανῶσαι Χαρίδημον καὶ Διότιμον χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι Παναθηναίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις ἐν τῷ γυμνικῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ Διονυσίοις τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς· τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι θεσμοθέτας, πρυτάνεις, ἀγανοθέτας.

Τούτων ἕκαστος, Αἰσχίνη, τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς ἧς ἤρχεν ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, ἐφ' οἷς δ' ἐστεφανοῦτο, οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος. οὐκοῦν οὐδ' ἐγώ· ταῦτά γὰρ δίκαιά ἐστί μοι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ταῖς ἄλλοις δήπου. ἐπέδωκα; ἐπαινοῦμαι διὰ ταῦτα, οὐκ ᾧ ᾧ ἐπέδωκα ὑπεύθυνος. ἤρχον; καὶ δέδωκά γε εὐθύνας ἐκεί-

* βουλῆς καὶ δήμου.

† γνώμην.

νων, οὐχ ὧν ἐπέδωκα. νῆ Δί', ἀλλ' ἀδίκως ἤρξα ;
 εἴτα παρών, ὅτε με εἰσῆγον οἱ λογισταί, οὐ κατη-
 γόρεις ; "Ἰνα τοίνυν εἰδῆτε ὅτι αὐτὸς οὗτός μοι μαρ-
 τυρεῖ ἐφ' οἷς οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος ἦν ἐστεφανῶσθαι, λαβὼν
 ἀνάγνωθι τὸ ψήφισμα ὅλον τὸ γραφέν μοι. οἷς
 γὰρ οὐκ ἐγράψατο τοῦ προβουλεύματος, τούτοις,*
 ἃ διώκει, συκοφαντῶν φανήσεται. λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Εὐθυκλέους, πυανεψιῶνος ἐνάτη
 ἀπιόντος, Φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Οἰνηΐδος, Κτησιφῶν
 Λεωσθένους Ἀναφλύστιος εἶπεν, ἐπεὶ δὴ Δημοσθέ-
 νης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς γενόμενος ἐπιμελητὴς
 τῆς τῶν τειχῶν ἐπισκευῆς καὶ προσαναλώσας εἰς
 τὰ ἔργα ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας τρία τάλαντα
 ἐπέδωκε ταῦτα τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ θεωρικοῦ
 κατασταθεὶς ἐπέδωκε τοῖς ἐκ πασῶν τῶν φυλῶν
 θεωρικοῖς ἑκατὸν μνᾶς εἰς θυσίας, δεδόχθαι τῇ
 βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἐπαινέσαι
 Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιᾶ ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα
 καὶ καλοκαγαθίας ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ ἐν παντὶ
 καιρῷ εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ στεφανῶσαι
 χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον
 ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τραγωδοῖς καινέϊς· τῆς
 δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὸν ἀγνωστότην.

* ἐν τούτοις.

Οὐκοῦν ἃ μὲν ἐπέδωκα, ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ἃν οὐδὲν σὺ γέγραψαι· ἃ δὲ φησὶν ἡ βουλὴ δεῖν ἀντὶ τούτων γενέσθαι μοι, ταῦτ' ἔσθ' ἃ διώκεις. τὸ λαβεῖν οὖν τὰ διδόμενα ὁμογολῶν ἔννομον εἶναι, τὸ χάριν τούτων ἀποδοῦναι παρανόμων γράφη. ὁ δὲ παμπόνηρος ἄνθρωπος καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸς καὶ βάσκανος ὄντως ποῖός τις ἂν εἴη πρὸς θεῶν; οὐχ ὁ* τοιοῦτος;

Καὶ μὴν περὶ τοῦ γ' ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ κηρύττεσθαι, τὸ μὲν μυριάκις μυρίους κεκηρῦχθαι παραλείπω καὶ τὸ πολλάκις αὐτὸς ἐστεφανῶσθαι πρότερον. ἀλλὰ πρὸς θεῶν οὕτω σκαιὸς εἶ καὶ ἀναίσθητος, Αἰσχίνη, ὥστ' οὐ δύνασαι† λογίσασθαι ὅτι τῷ μὲν στεφανουμένῳ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει ζῆλον ὁ στέφανος, ὅπου ἂν ἀναρρήθῃ, τοῦ δὲ τῶν στεφανούντων ἕνεκα συμφέροντος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ γίγνεται τὸ κήρυγμα; οἱ γὰρ ἀκούσαντες ἅπαντες εἰς το ποιεῖν εὖ τὴν πόλιν προτρέπονται, καὶ τοὺς ἀποδιδόντας τὴν χάριν μᾶλλον ἐπαινοῦσι τοῦ στεφανουμένου.‡ διόπερ τὸν νόμον τοῦτον ἡ πόλις γέγραφεν. Λέγε δ' αὐτόν μοι τὸν νόμον λαβάν.

NOMOS.

"Ὅσους στεφανοῦσί τινες τῶν δήμων, τὰς ἀναγορεύσεις τῶν στεφάνων ποιεῖσθαι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐκάστους τοῖς ἰδίοις δήμοις, ἐὰν μὴ τινὰς ὁ δῆμος ὁ

* οὐχι.

† δύνασθαι.

‡ ἐπαινουμένου.

τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἢ ἡ βουλὴ στεφανοῖ τούτους δ' ἐξεῖναι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις [ἀναγορεύεσθαι].

Ἀκούεις, Αἰσχίνη, τοῦ νόμου λέγοντος σαφῶς, πλὴν ἐάν τις ὁ δῆμος ἢ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσηται.* τούτους δὲ ἀναγορεύετω. τί οὖν, ᾧ ταλαίπωρε, συκοφαντεῖς; τί λόγους πλάττεεις; τί σαυτὸν οὐκ ἐλλεβορίζεις ἐπὶ τούτοις; ἀλλ' οὐδ' αἰσχύνῃ φρόνου δίκην εἰσάγων, οὐκ ἀδικήματος οὐδενός,† καὶ νόμους μεταποιῶν, τῶν δ' ἀφαιρῶν μέρη, οὓς ὅλους δίκαιον ἦν ἀναγιγνώσκεσθαι τοῖς γε ὁμωμοκόσι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ψηφιεῖσθαι; ἔπειτα τοιαῦτα ποιῶν λέγεις ἃ δεῖ προσεῖναι τῷ δημοτικῷ, ὥσπερ ἀνδριάντα ἐκδεδωκὼς κατὰ συγγραφὴν, εἴτ' οὐκ ἔχοντα ἃ προσῆκεν ἐκ τῆς συγγραφῆς κομιζόμενος, ἢ λόγῳ τοὺς δημοτικούς ἀλλ' οὐ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς πολιτεύμασι γιγνωσκομένους. καὶ βραῆς ῥητὰ καὶ ἄρρητα ὀνομάζων, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀμάξης, ἃ σοὶ καὶ τῷ σῷ γένει πρόσσεστιν, οὐκ ἐμοί.

Καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. ἐγὼ λοιδορίαν κατηγορίας τούτῳ διαφέρειν ἐγχοῦμαι, τῷ τὴν μὲν κατηγορίαν ἀδικήματ' ἔχειν, ὣν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις εἰσιν αἱ τιμωρίαι, τὴν δὲ λοιδορίαν βλασφημίας, ἃς κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς περὶ ἀλλήλων συμβαίνει λέγειν. οἰκοδομῆσαι δὲ τοὺς προγόνους‡ ταυτὶ τὰ δικαστήρια ὑπέιληφα οὐχ ἵνα συλλέξαντες ὑμᾶς εἰς ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων κακῶς

* στεφανωσθαι.

† οὐδένος λαβεῖν τιμωρίαν.

‡ προγόνους ἡμῶν.

τὰ ἀπόρρητα λέγωμεν ἀλλήλους, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐξελέγχωμεν, ἐάν τις ἡδίκηκώς τι τυγχάνῃ τὴν πόλιν. ταῦτα τοίνυν εἰδὼς Αἰσχίνης οὐδὲν ἥττον * ἐμοῦ πομπεύειν ἀντὶ τοῦ κατηγορεῖν εἴλετο.

Οὐ μὲν οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα ἔλαττον ἔχων δίκαιός ἐστιν ἀπελθεῖν. ἤδη δ' ἐπὶ ταῦτα πορεύσομαι, τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐρωτήσας. πότερόν σέ τις, Αἰσχίνη, τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρόν ἢ ἐμὸν εἶναι φῆ; ἐμὸν δῆλον ὅτι. εἴτα οὐ μὲν ἦν παρ' ἐμοῦ δίκην κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ὑπὲρ τούτων λαβεῖν, εἴπερ ἡδίκουν, ἐξέλιπες, ἐν ταῖς εὐθύναις, ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς, ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις κρίσεσιν· οὐ δ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἀθῶος ἅπασι, τοῖς νόμοις, τῷ χρόνῳ, τῇ προθεσμίᾳ, τῷ κεκρίσθαι περὶ πάντων πολλάκις πρότερον, τῷ μηδεπώποτε ἐξελεγχθῆναι μηδὲν ὑμᾶς ἀδικῶν, τῇ πόλει δ' ἢ πλεόν ἢ ἔλαττον ἀνάγκη τῶν γε δημοσία πεπραγμένων μετεῖναι τῆς δόξης, ἐνταῦθα ἀπήντηκας; ὅρα μὴ τούτων μὲν ἐχθρὸς ᾖς, ἐμὸς δὲ προσποιῇ.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἡ μὲν εὐσεβὴς καὶ δικαία ψῆφος ἅπασι δέδεικται, δεῖ δέ με, † ὡς ἔοικε, καίπερ οὐ φιλολοΐδορον ὄντα φύσει, διὰ τὰς ὑπὸ τούτου βλασφημίας εἰρημένας ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ ψευδῶν αὐτὰ τὰναγκαιότατ' εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ δεῖξαι τίς ἂν καὶ τίνων ῥαδίως οὕτως ἄρχει τοῦ κακῶς λέγειν, καὶ λόγους τίνας διασύρει, ‡ αὐτὸς εἰρηκῶς ἂ τίς οὐκ ἂν ὥκνησε τῶν μετρίων ἀνθρώπων

* κατ' ἐμον.

† ὅει καὶ ἐμε.

‡ διασυρεῖν.

φθίγξασθαι; εἰ γὰρ Αἰακὸς ἢ Ῥαδάμανθυς ἢ Μίνως ἦν ὁ κατηγορῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ σπερμολόγος, περίτριμμα ἀγορᾶς, ὁλεθρὸς γραμματεὺς, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν οἶμαι τοιαῦτ' εἰπεῖν οὐδ' ἂν οὕτως ἐπαχθεῖς λόγους πορίσασθαι, ὥσπερ ἐν τραγωδίᾳ βοῶντα ᾧ γῆ καὶ ἥλιε καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ πάλιν σύνεσιν καὶ παιδείαν ἐπικαλούμενον, ἢ τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχρὰ διαγιγνώσκειται ταῦτα γὰρ δῆπουθεν ἠκούετ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος. σοὶ δὲ ἀρετῆς, ᾧ κάθαρμα, ἢ τοῖς σοῖς τίς μετουσία; ἢ καλῶν* ἢ μὴ τοιούτων τίς διάγνωσις; πόθεν† ἢ πῶς ἀξιοθέντι; ποῦ δὲ παιδείας σοι θέμις μνησθῆναι, ἥς τῶν μὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς τετυχηκότων οὐδ' ἂν εἷς εἴποι περὶ αὐτοῦ τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ κἂν ἑτέρου λέγοντος ἐρυθριάσειε, τοῖς δ' ἀπολειφθεῖσι μὲν ὥσπερ σύ, προσποιούμενοις δ' ὑπ' ἀναισθησίας τὸ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἀλγεῖν ποιεῖν, ὅταν λέγωσιν, οὐ τὸ δοκεῖν τοιούτοις εἶναι περίεστιν.

Οὐκ ἀπορῶν δ' ὅτι χρὴ περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν εἰπεῖν, ἀπορῶ τοῦ πρώτου μνησθῶ, πότερ' ὡς ὁ πατήρ σου Τρόμος ἐδούλευε παρ' Ἑλπίᾳ τῷ πρὸς τῷ Θησεΐῳ διδάσκοντι γράμματα, χοίνικας παχείας ἔχων καὶ ξύλον, ἢ ὡς ἡ μήτηρ σου τοῖς μεθημερινοῖς γάμοις ἐν τῷ κλισίῳ τῷ πρὸς τῷ Καλαμίτῃ ἥρωϊ χρωμένη τὸν καλὸν ἀνδριάντα καὶ τριταγωνιστὴν ἄκρον ἐξεβρεφέ σε; ἀλλὰ

* τῶν τοιούτων.

† ποθεν λαμβοντι ἢ πῶς ἀξιοθέντι.

πάντες ἴσασι ταῦτα, καὶ ἐγὼ μὴ λέγω· ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ τριηραύλης Φορμίων, ὁ Δίωνος τοῦ Φρεαρρίου δούλος, ἀνέστησεν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς καλῆς ἐργασίας ; ἀλλὰ νῆ τὴν Δία καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὁκνῶ μὴ περὶ σοῦ τὰ προσήκοντα λέγων αὐτὸς οὐ προσήκοντας ἐμαυτῷ δόξω προηρῆσθαι λόγους. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐάσω, ἀπ' αὐτῶν δὲ ὧν αὐτὸς βεβίωκεν, ἄρξομαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὧν ἔτυχεν ἦν, ἀλλ' οἷς ὁ δῆμος καταστᾶται. ὁψὲ γάρ ποτε—, ὁψὲ λέγω ; χθες μὲν οὖν καὶ πρῶην ἅμ' Ἀθηναῖος καὶ ῥήτωρ γέγονε, καὶ δύο συλλαβὰς προσθεῖς τὸν μὲν πατέρα ἀντὶ Τρόμητος ἐποίησεν Ἀτρώμητον, τὴν δὲ μητέρα σεμινῶς πάνυ Γλαυκοθέαν ὠνόμασεν, ἣν Ἐμπουσαν ἅπαντες ἴσασι καλουμένην, ἐκ τοῦ πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν δηλονότι ταύτης τῆς ἐπανυμίας τυχοῦσαν· πόθεν γὰρ ἄλλοθεν ; ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕτως ἀχάριστος εἶ καὶ πονηρὸς φύσει, ὥστ' ἐλεύθερος ἐκ δούλου καὶ πλούσιος ἐκ πτωχοῦ διὰ τουτουσὶ γεγονῶς οὐχ ὅπως χάριν αὐτοῖς ἔχεις, ἀλλὰ μισθῶσας σαυτὸν κατὰ τουτωνὶ πολιτεύῃ.* καὶ περὶ ὧν μὲν ἐστὶ τις ἀμφισβήτησις, ὡς ἄρα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως εἴρηκεν, ἐάσω· ἃ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν φανερῶς ἀπεδείχθη† πράττων, ταῦτα ἀναμνήσω.

Τίς γὰρ ὑμῶν οὐκ οἶδε τὸν ἀποψηφισθέντα

* πολιτενεῖ.

† καθαρῶς ἐπεδείχθη.

Ἀντιφῶντα, ὃς ἐπαγγειλάμενος Φιλίππῳ τὰ νεῶ-
ρια ἐμπρήσειν τὰ ὑμέτερα εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἦλθεν ;
ὃν λαβόντος* ἐμοῦ κεκρυμμένον ἐν Πειραιεῖ καὶ
καταστήσαντος εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν βοῶν ὁ βάσκα-
νος οὗτος καὶ κεκραγώς, ὡς ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ δεινὰ
ποιῶ τοὺς ἡτυχηκότας τῶν πολιτῶν ὑβρίζων καὶ
ἐπ' οἰκίας βαδίζων ἄνευ ψηφίσματος, ἀφειῆναι
ἐποίησεν. καὶ εἰ μὴ ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πά-
γου τὸ πρᾶγμα αἰσθομένη καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν
ἄγνοιαν ἐν οὐ δέοντι συμβεβηκυῖαν ἰδοῦσα ἐπε-
ζήτησε τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ συλλαβοῦσα ἐπαινέγαγεν
ὡς ὑμᾶς, ἐξήρπαστ' ἂν ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ τὸ δίκην
δοῦναι διαδὺς ἐξεπέμπετ' ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ σεμνολόγου
τουτουί· νῦν δ' ὑμεῖς στρεβλώσαντες αὐτὸν ἀπε-
κτείνατε, ὡς ἔδει γε καὶ τοῦτον.

Τοιγαροῦν εἰδυῖα ταῦτα ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου
πάγου τότε τούτῳ πεπραγμένα, χειροτονησάντων
αὐτὸν ὑμῶν σύνδικον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ
ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγνοίας ἀφ' ἧσπερ πολλὰ προῖεσθε
τῶν κοινῶν, ὡς προείλεσθε† κακέειπεν καὶ τοῦ πράγ-
ματος κυρίαν ἐποίησατε, τοῦτον μὲν εὐθύς ἀπήλασεν
ὡς προδότην, Ὑπερίδῃ δὲ λέγειν προσέταξε· καὶ
ταῦτα ἀπὸ τοῦ βαμοῦ φέρουσα τὴν ψῆφον ἔπραξε,
καὶ οὐδεμία ψῆφος ἠνέχθη τῷ μιᾶρῳ τούτῳ. Καὶ
ὅτι ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει μοι τούτων τοὺς
μάρτυρας.

* καταλαβόντας.

† προτελεσθε.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

Μαρτυροῦσι Δημοσθένης ὑπὲρ πάντων οἷδε, Καλλιᾶς Σουνιεύς, Ζήνων Φλυεύς, Κλέων Φαληρεύς, Δημόνικος Μαξαθάνιος, ὅτι τοῦ δήμου ποτὲ χειροτονήσαντος Αἰσχίνην σύνδικον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας συνεδρεύσαντες ἡμεῖς ἐκρίναμεν Ὑπερίδην ἄξιον εἶναι μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως λέγειν, καὶ ἀπεστάλῃ Ὑπερίδῃς.

Οὐκοῦν ὅτε τούτου μέλλοντος λέγειν ἀπήλασεν αὐτὸν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ προσέταξεν ἑτέρῳ, τότε καὶ προδότην εἶναι καὶ κακόνουν ὑμῖν ἀπέφηνεν. Ἐν μὲν τοίνυν τούτῳ τοιοῦτο πολίτευμα τοῦ νεανίου τούτου, ὅμοιόν γε, οὐ γάρ; οἷς ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖ ἕτεροι δὲ ἀναμιμνήσκεσθε. ὅτε γὰρ Πύθωνα Φίλιππος ἔπεμψε τὸν Βυζάντιον καὶ παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ συμμάχων πάντων συνέπεμψε πρέσβεις, ὡς ἐν αἰσχύνῃ ποιήσων τὴν πόλιν καὶ δείξων ἀδικούσαν, τότε ἐγὼ μὲν τῷ Πύθωνι θρασυνομένῳ καὶ πολλῶν ῥέοντι καθ' ὑμῶν οὐκ εἴξα οὐδ' ὑπεχώρησα, ἀλλ' ἀναστὰς ἀντεῖπον καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως δίκαια οὐχὶ προῦδωκα, ἀλλ' ἀδικοῦντα Φίλιππον ἐξήλεγξα φανερώς οὕτως ὥστε τοὺς ἐκείνου συμμάχους αὐτοὺς ἀνισταμένους ὁμολογεῖν· οὗτος δὲ συνηγωνίζετο καὶ τὰναντία ἐμαρτύρει τῇ πατρίδι,

καὶ ταῦτα ψευδῇ. Καὶ οὐκ ἀπέχρη ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ πάλιν μετὰ ταῦθ' ὕστερον Ἀναξίῳ τῷ κατασκόπῳ συνιῶν εἰς τὴν Θράσωνος οἰκίαν ἐλήφθη. καίτοι ὅστις τῷ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων πεμφθέντι μόνος μόνῳ συνῆει καὶ ἐκοινολογεῖτο, αὗτος αὐτὸς ὑπῆρχε τῇ φύσει κατάσκοπος καὶ πολέμιος τῇ πατρίδι. Καὶ ὅτι ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει μοι τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

Τελέδημος Κλέανος, Ὑπερίδης Καλλαίσχρου, Νικόμαχος Διοφάντου μαρτυροῦσι Δημοσθένει καὶ ἐπωμόσαντο ἐπὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν εἰδέναι Λίσχινην Ἀτρομήτου Κοθωκίδην συνερχόμενον νυκτὸς εἰς τὴν Θράσωνος οἰκίαν καὶ κοινολογούμενον Ἀναξίῳ, ὃς ἐκρίθη εἶναι κατάσκοπος παρὰ Φιλίππου. αὗται ἀπεδόθησαν αἱ μαρτυρίαι ἐπὶ Νικίου, ἐκατομβαιῶνος τρίτῃ ἰσταμένου.

Μυρία τοίνυν ἕτερ' εἰπεῖν ἔχων περὶ αὐτοῦ παραλείπω. καὶ γὰρ οὕτω πως ἔχει. πολλὰ ἂν ἐγὼ νῦν ἔτι* τούτων† ἔχοιμι δεῖξαι, ὧν‡ οὗτος κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους τοῖς μὲν ἐχθροῖς ὑπηρετῶν ἑμοὶ δ' ἐπηρεάζων εὐρέθη. ἀλλ' οὐ τίθεται ταῦτα παρ' ὑμῖν§ εἰς ἀκριβῆ μνήμην οὐδ' ἦν προσῆκει

* ἐτι.

† τούτων δεινότερα.

‡ δι' ὧν.

§ ἑμῶν.

ὀργήν, ἀλλὰ δεδάκατε ἔθει τινὶ φαύλῳ πολλήν
 ἐξουσίαν τῷ βουλομένῳ τὸν λέγοντά τι* τῶν ὑμῖν
 συμφερόντων ὑποσκελίζει καὶ συκοφαντεῖν, τῆς
 ἐπὶ ταῖς λοιδορίαις ἡδονῆς καὶ χάριτος τὸ τῆς
 πόλεως συμφέρον ἀνταλλαττόμενοι.† δίοπερ ῥᾶόν
 ἐστι καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον αἰεὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑπηρε-
 τοῦντα μισθαρεῖν ἢ τὴν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐλόμενον τάξιν
 πολιτεύεσθαι.

Καὶ τὸ μὲν δὴ πρὸ τοῦ πολεμεῖν φανερῶς συν-
 αγωνίζεσθαι Φιλίππῳ δεινὸν μὲν, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί,
 πῶς γὰρ οὐ; κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος· δότε δ', εἰ
 βούλεσθε, δότε αὐτῷ τοῦτο. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ φανερῶς
 ἤδη τὰ πλοῖα ἐσεσύλητο, Χερρόνησος ἐπορθεῖτο,
 ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐπορεύεθ' ἀνθραπος, οὐκέτ'‡ ἐν
 ἀμφισβητησίμῳ τὰ πράγματα ἦν ἀλλ' ἐνεστήκει
 πόλεμος, ὃ τι μὲν πάποτ'§ ἔπραξεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὁ
 βάσκανος οὗτος ἱαμβειοφάγος, || οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι
 δεῖξαι, οὐδ' ἐστὶν οὔτε μείζον οὔτ' ἔλαττον ψήφι-
 σμα οὐδὲν Αἰσχίνη περὶ τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ πόλει.
 εἰ δέ φησι, νῦν δεῖξάτω ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι. ἀλλ'
 οὐκ ἐστὶν οὐδέν. καίτοι δυεῖν¶ αὐτὸν ἀνάγκη θάτε-
 ρον, ἢ μηδὲν τοῖςπραττομένοις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τότε ἔχοντ'
 ἐγκαλεῖν μὴ γράφειν παρὰ ταῦθ' ἕτερα, ἢ τὸ τῶν

* περι των. † αἰτικαταλλομενοι. ‡ ουκετι καὶ εν.
 § ὅτι μεν εν τῷ, τοτ'. || ιαμβογραφος. ¶ δυειν.

ἐχθρῶν συμφέρον ζητοῦντα μὴ φέρειν εἰς μέσον τὰ τούτων ἀμείνω. Ἄρ' οὖν οὐδ' ἔλεγεν, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἔγραφεν, ἥνικα ἐργάσασθαι τι δέοι κακὸν ὑμᾶς; οὐ μὲν οὖν ἦν εἰπεῖν ἑτέρῳ.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καὶ φέρειν ἠδύναθ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ἡ πόλις καὶ ποιῶν οὗτος λανθάνειν· ἐν δ' ἐπεξεργάσατο ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοιοῦτον, ὃ πᾶσι τοῖς προτέροις ἐπέθηκε τέλος· περὶ οὗ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀνάλωσε* λόγους, τὰ τῶν Ἀμφισσίων τῶν Λοκρῶν διεξιὼν δόγματα, ὡς διαστρέψων τὰ ληθές. τὸ δ' οὐ τοιοῦτόν ἐστι· πόθεν;† οὐδέ ποτ' ἐκνίψῃ σὺ τὰ κεῖ πεπραγμένα σαυτῷ· οὐχ οὕτω πολλὰ ἐρεῖς. Καλῷ δ' ἐναντίον ὑμῶν ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς θεοὺς ἅπαντας καὶ πάσας, ὅσοι τὴν χώραν ἔχουσι τὴν Ἀττικὴν, καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύβιον, ὃς πατρῷός ἐστι τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐπεύχομαι πᾶσι τούτοις, εἰ μὲν ἀληθῆ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἴποιμι καὶ εἶπον τότ' εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, ὅτε πρῶτον εἶδον τουτονὶ τὸν μισθὸν τούτου τοῦ πράγματος ἀπτόμενον (ἔγνων γάρ, εὐθέως ἔγνων), εὐτυχίαν μοι δοῦναι καὶ σωτηρίαν, εἰ δὲ πρὸς ἐχθρῶν ἢ φιλονεικίας ἰδίας ἐνεκ' αἰτίαν ἐπάγω τούτῳ ψευδῇ, πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνόνητόν‡ με ποιῆσαι.

Τί οὖν ταῦτ' ἐπῆραμαι καὶ διετεινάμην οὕτως;

* ἀνέλωσε. † πόθεν; πολλοὺς γὰρ καὶ δεῖ. ‡ ἀνόνητοι.

σφοδρῶς; ὅτι καὶ γράμματ' ἔχων ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ
 κείμενα, ἐξ ὧν ταῦτ' ἐπιδείξω σαφῶς, καὶ ὑμᾶς
 εἰδὼς τὰ πεπραγμένα μνημονεύοντας, ἐπεῖνο φοβοῦ-
 μαι, μὴ τῶν ἐργασμένων αὐτῷ κακῶν ὑποληφθῇ
 ἐλάττων οὗτος· ὅπερ πρότερον συνέβη, ὅτε τοὺς
 ταλαιπῶρους Φωκίας ἐποίησεν ἀπολέσθαι τὰ
 ψευδῇ δεῦρ' ἀπαγγείλας. τὸν γὰρ ἐν Ἀμφίτῃ
 πόλεμον, δι' ὃν εἰς Ἑλάτειαν ἦλθε Φίλιππος καὶ
 δι' ὃν ἤρέθη τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἡγεμῶν, ὅς ἄπαντ'
 ἀνέτρεψε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων,* οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ συγ-
 κατασκευάσας καὶ πάντων εἰς ἀνὴρ τῶν μεγίστων
 αἴτιος κακῶν. καὶ τότε εὐθὺς ἐμοῦ διαμαρτυρο-
 μένου καὶ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ “πόλεμον εἰς
 τὴν Ἀττικὴν εἰσάγεις,† Αἰσχίνη, πόλεμον Ἀμ-
 φικτυονικόν” οἱ μὲν ἐκ παρακλήσεως συγκαθή-
 μενοὶ οὐκ εἶναι με λέγειν, οἱ δ' ἐθαύμαζον καὶ
 κενὴν αἰτίαν διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἔχθραν ἐπάγειν με ὑπε-
 λάμβανον αὐτῷ. ἥτις δ' ἡ φύσις ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι γέγονε τούτων τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ τίνος
 ἕνεκα ταῦτα συνεσκευάσθη καὶ πῶς ἐπράχθη, νῦν
 ἀκούσατε, ἐπειδὴ τότε ἐκωλύθητε· καὶ γὰρ εὖ
 πρᾶγμα συντεθεῖν ὄψεσθε, καὶ μεγάλα ὠφελή-
 σεσθε πρὸς ἱστορίαν‡ τῶν κοινῶν, καὶ ὅση δεινότης
 ἦν ἐν τῷ Φιλίππῳ, θεάσεσθε.

Οὐκ ἦν τοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολέμου πέρας οὐδ'

* Ἑλλήνων πραγματα.

† ἀγεις.

‡ σωτηριαν.

ἀπαλλαγὴ Φιλίππου, εἰ μὴ Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλοὺς ἐχθροὺς ποιήσῃ τῇ πόλει· ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἀθλίως καὶ κακῶς τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν ὑμετέρων πολεμούντων αὐτῷ ὅμως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν ληστῶν μυρία ἔπασχε κακά. οὔτε γὰρ ἐξήγετο τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας γιγνομένων οὐδέν, οὔτ' εἰσῆγετο ὧν ἑδεῖτ' αὐτῷ· ἦν δὲ οὔτ' ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ τότε κρείττων ὑμῶν, οὔτ' εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐλθεῖν δυνατὸς μήτε Θετταλῶν ἀκολουθούντων μήτε Θηβαίων διέντων· συνέβαινε δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ πολέμῳ κρατοῦντι* τοὺς ὁποιοσδήποτε ὑμεῖς ἐξεπέμπετε στρατηγούς (εἰ γὰρ τοῦτό γε) αὐτῇ τῇ φύσει τοῦ τόπου† καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἑκατέροις κακοπαθεῖν· εἰ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκ' ἐχθρας ἢ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς ἢ τοὺς Θηβαίους συμπεῖθοι βαδίζειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, οὐδέν' ἂν ἡγεῖτο προσέξιν αὐτῷ τὸν νοῦν· ἂν δὲ τὰς ἐκείνων κοινὰς προφάσεις λαβὼν ἡγεμῶν αἰρεθῇ, ῥᾶον ἤλπιζε τὰ μὲν παρακρουσθῆναι,‡ τὰ δὲ πείσῃν. τί οὖν; ἐπιχειρεῖ, θείασασθ' ὥς εὔ, πόλεμον ποιῆσαι τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι καὶ περὶ τὴν Πυλαίαν ταραχὴν· εἰς γὰρ ταῦτ' εὐθύς αὐτοὺς ἐπιλαμβάνειν αὐτοῦ δεήσεσθαι. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτο ἢ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ πεμπομένων ἱερομημόνων ἢ τῶν ἐκείνου συμμάχων εἰσηγούτο τις, ὑπόψῃσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐνόμιζε καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους

* καίπερ κρατοῦντι.

† τῶν τοπικῶν.

‡ παρακρουσθῆναι.

καὶ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς καὶ πάντας φυλάξεσθαι,* ἂν
 δ' Ἀθηναῖος ἢ καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν ὑπεναντίων ὁ
 τοῦτο ποιῶν, εὐπόρως λήσειν ὅπερ συνέβη. πῶς οὖν
 ταῦτ' ἐποίησεν; μισθοῦται τουτονί. οὐδενὸς δὲ
 προειδότος, οἶμαι, τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐδὲ φυλάττοντος,
 ὥσπερ εἶωθε τὰ τοιαῦτα παρ' ὑμῖν γίνεσθαι, προ-
 βληθεὶς πυλαγόρας οὗτος καὶ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων
 χειροτονησάντων αὐτὸν ἀνερρήθη. ὥς δὲ τὸ τῆς
 πόλεως ἀξίωμα λαβὼν ἀφίκετο εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφι-
 κτύονας, πάντα τ᾽ ἄλλ' ἀφείς καὶ παριδὼν ἐπέβαινεν
 ἐφ' οἷς ἐμισθώθη, καὶ λόγους εὐπροσάπους καὶ
 μύθους, ὅθεν ἡ Κιρράία χώρα καθιερώθη, συνθεὶς
 καὶ διεξιελθὼν ἀνθρώπους ἀπείρους λόγων καὶ τὸ
 μέλλον οὐ προορωμένους, τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας, πείθει
 ψηφίσασθαι περιελθεῖν τὴν χώραν ἣν οἱ μὲν Ἀμ-
 φισσεῖς σφῶν αὐτῶν οὔσαν γεωργεῖν ἔφασαν, οὗτος
 δὲ τῆς ἱερᾶς χώρας ἡτιᾶτο εἶναι, οὐδεμίαν δίκην
 τῶν Λοκρῶν ἐπαγόντων ἡμῖν, οὐδ' ἂν νῦν οὗτος προ-
 φασίζεται, λέγων οὐκ ἀληθῆ. γνῶσεσθε† δ' ἐκεῖθεν.
 οὐκ ἔνῃν ἄνευ τοῦ προσκαλέσασθαι δήπου τοῖς
 Λοκροῖς δίκην κατὰ τῆς πόλεως τελέεσθαι. τίς
 οὖν ἐκλήτευσεν ἡμᾶς; ἐπὶ‡ ποίας ἀρχῆς; εἰπέ τὸν
 εἰδότα, δεῖξον. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις, ἀλλὰ κενῇ
 προφάσει ταύτη κατεχρῶ καὶ ψευδεῖ.

Περιμόντων τοίνυν τὴν χώραν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων

* φιλαξασθαι.

† ἐπισσασθε.

‡ απο.

κατὰ τὴν ὑφήγησιν τὴν τούτου, προσπεσόντες οἱ
 Λοκροὶ μικροῦ μὲν ἅπαντας κατηκόντισαν, τινὰς δὲ
 καὶ συνήρπασαν τῶν ἱερομνημόνων. ὥς δ' ἅπαξ ἐκ
 τούτων ἐγκλήματα καὶ πόλεμος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμ-
 φισσεῖς ἐταράχθη, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὁ Κόττυφος αὐ-
 τῶν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἤγαγε στρατίαν, ὥς δ' οἱ
 μὲν οὐκ ἦλθον, οἱ δ' ἐλθόντες οὐδὲν ἐποιοῦν, εἰς τὴν
 ἐπιούσαν πυλαίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον εὐθύς ἡγεμόνα*
 ἦγον† οἱ κατεσκευασμένοι καὶ πάλαι πονηροὶ τῶν
 Θετταλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι. καὶ
 προφάσεις εὐλόγους εἰλήφισαν· ἥ γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἰσ-
 φέρειν καὶ ξένους τρέφειν ἔφασαν δεῖν καὶ ζημιοῦν
 τοὺς μὴ ταῦτα ποιοῦντας, ἢ ἐκεῖνον αἰρεῖσθαι. τί
 δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν; ἡρέθη γὰρ ἐκ τούτων ἡγε-
 μών. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθύς δύναμιν συλλέξας
 καὶ παρελθὼν ὥς ἐπὶ τὴν Κιρράϊαν, ἐρρῶσθαι φρά-
 σας πολλὰ Κιρράίοις καὶ Λοκροῖς, τὴν Ἐλάτειαν
 καταλαμβάνει. εἰ μὲν οὖν μὴ μετέγνωσαν εὐθύς,
 ὥς τοῦτ' εἶδον, οἱ Θεβαῖοι καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐγένοντο,
 ὥσπερ χειμάρρους ἂν ἅπαν τοῦτο‡ τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰς
 τὴν πόλιν εἰσέπεισε· § νῦν δὲ τό γ' ἐξαίφνης ἐπίσχον
 αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνοι, μάλιστα μὲν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι
 θεῶν τινὸς εὐνοία πρὸς ὑμᾶς, εἴτα μέντοι, καὶ ὅσον
 καθ' ἓνα ἄνδρα, καὶ δι' ἐμέ. δὸς δέ μοι τὰ δόγ-
 ματα ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς χερόνους ἐν οἷς ἕκαστα

* ἡγεμονίαν.

† ἀνήγον.

‡ τότε.

§ ἀπέπεισε.

πέπρακται, ἵν' εἰδῇτε ἡλίκα πράγματα ἢ μισρὰ κεφαλὴ ταραξασα* αὕτη δίκην οὐκ ἔδωκε. λέγε μοι τὰ δόγματα.

ΔΟΓΜΑ ΑΜΦΙΚΤΥΟΝΩΝ.

Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλειναγόρου, ἑαρινῆς πυλαίας, ἔδοξε τοῖς πυλαγόροις καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ Ἀμφισσεῖς ἐπιβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν καὶ σπείρουσι καὶ βοσκήμασι κατανέμουσιν,† ἐπελθεῖν τοὺς πυλαγόρους καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους, καὶ στήλαις διαλαβεῖν τοὺς ὅρους,‡ καὶ ἀπειπεῖν τοῖς Ἀμφισσεῦσι τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν.

ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΔΟΓΜΑ.

Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλειναγόρου, ἑαρινῆς πυλαίας, ἔδοξε τοῖς πυλαγόροις καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἐξ Ἀμφίσσης τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν κατανειμάμενοι γεωργοῦσι καὶ βοσκήματα νέμουσιν, καὶ κωλύομενοι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις παραγενόμενοι, τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνέδριον κεκωλύκασιν μετὰ βίας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τετραυματίκασιν, [καὶ] τὸν

* πραξασα.

† βοσκήματα νεμουνσιν.

‡ ὅρκους.

στρατηγὸν τὸν ἡρημένον τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων Κόττυφον τὸν Ἀρχάδα πρεσβεῦσαι πρὸς Φίλιππον τὸν Μακεδόνα, καὶ ἀξιοῦν ἵνα βοηθήσῃ τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσιν, ὅπως μὴ περιίδῃ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄσεβῶν Ἀμφισσέων τὸν θεὸν πλημμελούμενον· καὶ διότι αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα αἰροῦνται οἱ Ἕλληνες οἱ μετέχοντες τοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων.

Λέγε δὴ καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἷς ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο· εἰσὶ γὰρ καθ' οὓς ἐπυλαγόρησεν οὗτος. λέγε.

ΧΡΟΝΟΙ.

Ἀρχῶν Μνησιθείδης, μηνὸς ἀνθεστηριῶνος ἕκτη ἐπὶ δεκάτῃ.*

Δὸς δὴ μοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἦν, ὡς οὐχ ὑπήκουον οἱ Θηβαῖοι, πέμπει πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ συμμάχους ὁ Φίλιππος, ἵν' εἰδῇτε καὶ ἐκ ταύτης σαφῶς ὅτι τὴν μὲν ἀληθεῖ πρόφασιν τῶν πραγμάτων, τὸ ταῦτ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ ὑμᾶς πρᾶττειν, ἀπεικρύπτετο, κοινὰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι δόξαντα ποιεῖν προσεποιεῖτο· ὁ δὲ τὰς ἀφορμὰς ταύτας καὶ τὰς προφάσεις αὐτῷ παρασχὼν οὗτος ἦν. λέγε.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.

Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Πελοποννησίων τῶν ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ τοῖς δημιουργοῖς καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις πᾶσι χαίρειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ Λακκοὶ οἱ καλούμενοι ὀζόλαι, κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ, πλημμελοῦσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν ἐρχόμενοι μεθ' ὅπλων λεηλατοῦσι, βούλομαι τῷ θεῷ μεθ' ὑμῶν βοηθεῖν καὶ ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς παραβαίνοντάς τι τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐσεβῶν· ὥστε συναντᾶτε μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα, ἔχοντες ἐπισιτισμὸν ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα, τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος μηνὸς λῶου, ὥς ἡμεῖς ἄγομεν, ὥς δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, βοηδορομιῶνος, ὥς δὲ Κορίνθιοι, πανέμου. τοῖς δὲ μὴ συναντήσασι παιδημεῖ χρησόμεθα, τοῖς δὲ συμβούλοις* ἡμῖν κειμένοις ἐπιζημίους. εὐτυχεῖτε.

Ὅρᾷ ὅτι φεύγει μὲν τὰς ἰδίας προφάσεις, εἰς δὲ τὰς Ἀμφικτυονικὰς καταφεύγει. τίς οὖν ὁ ταῦτα συμπαρασκευάσας αὐτῷ; τίς ὁ τὰς προφάσεις ταύτας ἐνδούς; τίς ὁ τῶν κακῶν τῶν γεγενημένων μάλιστα αἴτιος; οὐχ οὗτος; μὴ τοίνυν λέγετε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περιμόντες ὥς ὑφ' ἐνὸς τοιαῦτα πέπονθεν ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀνθρώπου.

* τοῖς δὲ ἡμῖν συναιτησασι παιδημεῖ, χρησομεθα μὴ συγκειμένοις συμβούλοις· τοῖς δὲ ἐπιζημίους.

οὐχ ὑφ' ἐνός, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ πονηρῶν τῶν παρ' ἐκάστοις, ᾧ γῆ καὶ θεοί· ᾧ εἷς οὐτοσί, ὃν, εἰ μὴδὲν εὐλαβηθέντα τ' ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν δέοι, οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμι ἔγωγε κοινὸν ἀλιτήριον τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπολωλότων ἀπάντων εἰπεῖν, ἀνθρώπων, τόπων, πόλεων· ὁ γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα παρασχών, οὗτος τῶν φύντων αἴτιος. ὃν ὅπως ποτὲ οὐκ εὐθὺς ἰδόντες ἀπεστράφητε, θαυμάζω· πλὴν πολὺ τι σκότος,* ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐστὶ παρ' ὑμῖν πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας.

Συμβέβηκε τοίνυν μοι τῶν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος τούτῳ πεπραγμένων ἀψαμένῳ εἰς ἃ τούτοις ἐναντιούμενος αὐτὸς πεπολίτευμαι ἀφῖχθαι· ἃ πολλῶν μὲν ἕνεκ' ἂν εἰκότως ἀκούσαιτέ† μου, μάλιστα δ' ὅτι αἰσχυρόν ἐστιν, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ ἐγὼ μὲν τὰ ἔργα τῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πόνων ὑπέμεινα, ὑμεῖς δὲ μὴδὲ τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν ἀνέξεσθε.

Ὅρων γὰρ ἐγὼ Θηβαίους, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ Φιλίππου φρονούντων καὶ διεφθαρμένων παρ' ἐκατέροις, ὃ μὲν ἦν ἀμφοτέροις φοβερόν καὶ φυλακῆς πολλῆς δεόμενον, τὸ τὸν Φίλιππον ἑᾶν αὐξάνεσθαι, παρορῶντας καὶ οὐδὲ καθ' ἓν φυλαττομένους, εἰς ἔχθραν δὲ καὶ τὸ προσκρούειν ἀλλήλοις ἐτοίμως ἔχοντας, ὅπως τοῦτο μὴ γένοιτο παρατηρῶν διετέλουν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑμαυτοῦ γνώμης μόνον ταῦτα συμφέρειν ὑπολαμβάνων, ἀλλ' εἰδὼς Ἀρι-

* σκοπας.

† ακουσετε.

‡ πρᾶττοιτων.

στοφῶντα καὶ πάλιν Εὐβουλον πάντα τὸν χρέοιο
 βουλομένους πρᾶξαι ταύτην τὴν φιλίαν, καὶ περὶ
 τῶν ἄλλων πολλάκις ἀντιλέγοντας ἑαυτοῖς τοῦθ'
 ὁμογνωμονοῦντας ἀεὶ. οὓς σὺ ζῶντας μέν, ὦ κίνα-
 δος,* κολακεύων παρηκολούθεις, τεθνεώτων δ' οὐκ
 αἰσθάνει κατηγορῶν· ἃ γὰρ περὶ Θηβαίων ἐπιτι-
 μᾶς ἐμοί, ἐκείνων πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμοῦ κατηγο-
 ρεῖς, τῶν πρότερον ἢ ἐγὼ ταύτην τὴν συμμαχίαν
 δοκιμασάντων. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖσε ἐπάνειμι, ὅτι τὸν ἐν
 Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον τούτου μὲν ποιήσαντος, συμπε-
 ραναμένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συνεργῶν αὐτῶ τὴν
 πρὸς Θηβαίους ἔχθραν, συνέβη† τὸν Φίλιππον
 ἐλθεῖν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, οὐπὲρ ἔνεκα τὰς πόλεις οὗτοι
 συνέκρουον, καὶ εἰ μὴ προεξανέστημεν μικρόν,
 οὐδ' ἀναλαβεῖν αὐτοὺς‡ ἂν ἠδυνήθημεν· οὕτω μέ-
 χρι πόρρῳ προήγαγον οὗτοι τὸ πρᾶγμα. ἐν οἷς
 δ' ἦτε ἤδη τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τουτῶν τῶν ψη-
 φισμάτων ἀκούσαντες καὶ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων εἴσεσθε.
 Καί μοι λέγε ταῦτα λαβών.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἡροπύθου, μηνὸς ἐλαφροβολιῶνος
 ἕκτη φθίνοντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Ἐρεχθίδος,
 βουλῆς καὶ στρατηγῶν γνώμη, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ἅς §
 μὲν κατέειλε πόλεις τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων, τινὰς δὲ

* κιναιδος.

† συνεβησαν.

‡ ἑαυτοὺς.

§ τας.

πορθεῖ, κεφαλαίᾳ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν παρασκευάζεται παραγίγνεσθαι, παρ' οὐδέν ἡγούμενος τὰς ἡμετέρας συνθήκας, καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους λύειν ἐπιβάλλεται καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην, παραβαίνων τὰς κοινὰς πίστεις, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πέμπειν* πρὸς αὐτὸν πρέσβεις, οἵτινες αὐτῷ διαλέξονται καὶ παρακαλέσουσιν αὐτὸν μάλιστα μὲν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁμόνοιαν διατηρεῖν καὶ τὰς συνθήκας, εἰ δὲ μή, πρὸς τὸ βουλευέσασθαι δοῦναι χρόνον τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰς ἀνοχὰς ποιήσασθαι μέχρι τοῦ θαργῆλιωνος μηνός. ἡρέθησαν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς Σῖμος Ἀναγυράσιος, Εὐθύδημος Φλυάσιος,† Βουλαγόρας Ἀλωπεκῆθεν.

ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ.

Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἡροπόθου, μηνὸς μουνηχιῶνος ἔτη καὶ νέα, πολιεμάρχου γνώμη, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος εἰς ἀλλοτριότητα Θηβαίους πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπιβάλλεται καταστῆσαι, παρεσκευάσται δὲ καὶ παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι πρὸς τοὺς ἔγγιστα τῆς Ἀττικῆς παραγίγνεσθαι τόπους, παραβαίνων τὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὑπαρχούσας αὐτῷ συνθήκας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πέμψαι πρὸς αὐτὸν κήρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις, οἵτινες ἀξιώσουσι καὶ παρακαλέσουσιν

* πεμψαι.

† Φλειασίος.

αὐτὸν ποιήσασθαι τὰς ἀνοχὰς, ὅπως ἐνδεχομένως ὁ δῆμος βουλευσῆται* καὶ γὰρ νῦν οὐ κέκρικε βοηθεῖν ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν μετρίων. ἡρέθησαν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς Νέαρχος Σωσινόμου, Πολυκράτης Ἐπίφρονος, καὶ κῆρυξ Εὐνομος Ἀναφλύστιος ἐκ τοῦ δήμου.

Λέγε δὴ καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις.

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙΣ.

Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἦν μὲν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἵχετε πρὸς ἡμᾶς αἵρεσιν,† οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, καὶ τίνα σπουδὴν ποιεῖσθε προσκαλέσασθαι βουλόμενοι Θετταλοὺς καὶ Θηβαίους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Βοιωτούς· βέλτιον ὃ αὐτῶν φρονούντων καὶ μὴ βουλομένων ἐφ' ὑμῖν ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἑαυτῶν αἵρεσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ συμφέρον ἰσταμένων, νῦν ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς ἀποστείλαντες ὑμεῖς πρὸς με πρέσβεις καὶ κήρυκα συνθηκῶν μνημονεύετε καὶ τὰς ἀνοχὰς αἰτεῖσθε, κατ' οὐδὲν ὑφ' ἡμῶν πεπλημμελημένοι.‡ ἐγὼ μέντοι ἀκούσας τῶν πρεσβευτῶν συγκατατίθεμαι τοῖς παρακαλουμένοις καὶ ἔτοιμός εἰμι ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀνοχὰς, ἂν περ τοὺς οὐκ ὀρθῶς συμβουλευόντας ὑμῖν παραπέμψαντες τῆς προσηκούσης ἀτιμίας ἀξιώσητε. ἔρρωσθε.

* βουλευσεται.

† προαιρεσιν.

‡ πεπλημμενοι.

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΟΙΣ.

Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Θηβαίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἐκομισάμην τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπιστολήν, δι' ἧς μοι τὴν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀνανεοῦσθε. πυνθάνομαι μέντοι διότι πᾶσαν ὑμῖν Ἀθηναῖοι προσφέρονται φιλοτιμίαν βουλόμενοι ὑμᾶς συγκαταίνους γενέσθαι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν παρακαλουμένοις. πρότερον μὲν οὖν ὑμῶν κατεγγινωσκον ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλειν πείθεσθαι ταῖς ἐκείνων ἐλπίσι καὶ ἐπακολουθεῖν αὐτῶν τῇ προαιρέσει. νῦν δ' ἐπιγνούς ὑμᾶς τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐζητηκότας ἔχειν εἰρήνην μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς ἐτέρων ἐπακολουθεῖν γνώμαις, ἥσθην καὶ μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς ἐπαινῶ κατὰ πολλὰ, μάλιστα δ' ἐπὶ τῷ βουλευσασθαι περὶ τούτων ἀσφαλέστερον καὶ τὰ* πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχειν ἐν εὐνοίᾳ· ὅπερ οὐ μικρὰν ὑμῖν οἴσειν ἐλπίζω ῥοπήν, εἴαν περ ἐπὶ ταύτης μένητε τῆς προθέσεως.† ἐρῶσθε.

Οὕτω διαθεὶς ὁ Φίλιππος τὰς πόλεις πρὸς ἀλλήλας διὰ τούτων, καὶ τούτοις ἐπαρθεὶς τοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν, ἤκεν ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάτειαν κατέλαβεν, ὥς οὐδ' ἂν εἴ τι γένοιτο ἔτι συμπνευσόντων ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων. ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸν τότε συμβάντα ἐν τῇ

* τὴν.

† πραιρεσεως.

πόλει θόρυβον ἴστε μὲν ἅπαντες· μικρὰ δ' ἀκούσατε ὅμως, αὐτὰ τὰναγκαιότατα. Ἐσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν, ἦκε δ' ἀγγέλλων τις ὡς τοὺς πρυτάνεις ὡς Ἐλάτεια κατέληπται. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξαναστάντες μεταξὺ δειπνοῦντες τοὺς τ' ἐκ τῶν σκηνῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐξείργον καὶ τὰ γέρρα ἐνεπίμπρασαν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς στρατηγούς μετεπέμποντο καὶ τὸν σαλπικτὴν ἐκάλουν· καὶ θορύβου πλήρης ἦν ἡ πόλις. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ μὲν πρυτάνεις τὴν βουλὴν ἐκάλουν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὑμεῖς δ' εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπορεύεσθε, καὶ πρὶν ἐκείνην χρηματίσαι καὶ προβουλευῆσαι πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἄνω καθῆτο.* καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὡς εἰσῆλθεν† ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ἀτήγγειλαν οἱ πρυτάνεις τὰ προσηγγελμένα ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τὸν ἥκοντα παρήγαγον ἀκείνους εἶπεν, ἡρώτα μὲν ὁ κῆρυξ “τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται;” παρῆει δ' οὐδεὶς. πολλάκις δὲ τοῦ κήρυκος ἐρωτῶντος οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀνίστατ' οὐδεὶς, ἀπάντων μὲν τῶν στρατηγῶν παρόντων, ἀπάντων δὲ τῶν ῥητόρων, καλούσης δὲ τῆς πατρίδος τῇ κοινῇ φωνῇ τὸν ἐροῦνθ' ὑπὲρ ‡σωτηρίας· ἦν γὰρ ὁ κῆρυξ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους φωνὴν ἀφίησι, ταύτην κοινὴν τῆς πατρίδος δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἡγεῖσθαι. καίτοι εἰ μὲν τοὺς σωθῆναι τὴν πόλιν βουλομένους παρελθεῖν ἔδει, πάντες ἂν ἰμεῖς

* καθηστο.

† ηλθεν.

‡ της σωτηριας.

καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἀναστάντες ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐβαδίζετε· πάντες γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι σωθῆναι αὐτὴν ἠβούλεισθε· εἰ δὲ τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους, οἱ τριακόσιοι· εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἀμφοτέρωθεν ταῦτα, καὶ εὐνοὺς τῇ πόλει καὶ πλουσίους, οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰς μεγάλας ἐπιδόσεις ἐπιδόντες· καὶ γὰρ εὐνοία καὶ πλοῦτος τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν. ἀλλ' ὥς ἔοικεν, ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη οὐ μόνον εὐνοὺν καὶ πλούσιον ἄνδρα ἐκάλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρηκολουθηκότα τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ συλλελογισμένον ὀρθῶς τίνος ἕνεκα ταῦτ' ἐπραττεν ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ τί βουλόμενος· ὁ γὰρ μὴ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς μὴδ' ἐξητακῶς πόρρωθεν ἐπιμελῶς, οὔτ' εἰ εὐνοὺς ἦν οὔτ' εἰ πλούσιος, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἤμελλεν ὅτι χρὴ ποιεῖν εἴσεσθαι οὐδ' ὑμῖν ἔξειν συμβουλευεῖν. ἐφάνην τοίνυν οὗτος ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγώ, καὶ παρελθὼν εἶπον εἰς ὑμᾶς, ἃ μὲν δυοῖν ἕνεκ' ἀκούσατε προσέχοντες τὸν νοῦν, ἐνὸς μὲν, ἵν' εἰδῆτε ὅτι μόνος τῶν λεγόντων καὶ πολιτευομένων ἐγὼ τὴν τῆς εὐνοίας τάξιν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς οὐκ ἔλιπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγων καὶ γράφων ἐξηταζόμεν τὰ δέονθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς φοβεροῖς, ἐτέρου δέ, ὅτι μικρὸν ἀναλώσαντες χρόνον πολλῶ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς πάσης* πολιτείας ἔσεσθ' ἐμπειρότεροι.

Εἶπον τοίνυν ὅτι “τοὺς μὲν ὥς ὑπαρχόντων

* τῆς αλλῆς πολιτείας.

Θηβαίων Φιλίππῳ λίαν θορυβουμένους ἀγνοεῖν
 τὰ παρόντα πράγματα· ἡγοῦμαι· εὖ γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι,
 εἰ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἐτύγχανεν ἔχον, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν
 ἠκούομεν ἐν Ἑλατεῖα * ὄντα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμε-
 τέροις ὁρίοις. ὅτι μέντοι ἰν'† ἔτοιμα ποιήσεται τὰ
 ἐν Θήβαις ἥκει, σαφῶς ἐπίσταμαι. ὥς δ' ἔχει"
 ἔφην "ταῦτα, ἀκούσατέ μου.‡ ἐκεῖνος ὅσους ἢ
 πείσαι χρέμασι Θηβαίων ἢ ἐξαπατῆσαι ἐνῆν,
 ἅπαντας ἡττρεύεται· τοὺς δ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀνθε-
 στηκότας αὐτῷ καὶ νῦν ἐναντιουμένους οὐδαμῶς
 πείσαι δύναται. τί οὖν βούλεται, καὶ τίνος ἕνεκα
 τὴν Ἑλάτειαν κατείληφεν; πλησίον δύναμιν δεί-
 ξας καὶ παραστήσας τὰ ὅπλα τοὺς μὲν ἑαυτοῦ
 φίλους ἐπαῖραι καὶ θρασεῖς ποιῆσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐναν-
 τιουμένους καταπλῆξαι, ἵν' ἢ συγχωρήσωσι φοβη-
 θέντες ἃ νῦν οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν, ἢ βιασθῶσιν. εἰ μὲν
 τοίνυν προαιρησόμεθ' ἡμεῖς" ἔφην "ἐν τῷ παρόντι,
 εἴ τι δύσκολον πέπρακται Θηβαίοις πρὸς ἡμᾶς,
 τούτου μεμνήσθαι καὶ ἀπιστεῖν αὐτοῖς ὥς ἐν τῇ
 τῶν ἐχθρῶν οὔσι μερίδι, πρῶτον μὲν ἃ ἂν εὕξαιτο
 Φιλίππος ποιήσομεν, εἴτα φοβοῦμαι μὴ προσ-
 θεξαμένων τῶν νῦν ἀνθεστηκότων. αὐτῷ καὶ μιᾷ
 γνώμῃ πάντων‡ Φιλιππισάντων εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν
 ἔλθωσιν ἀμφότεροι. ἂν μέντοι πεισθῇτ' ἐμοὶ καὶ
 πρὸς τῷ σκοπεῖν ἀλλὰ μὴ φιλονικεῖν περὶ ᾧ

* ἐν ὄντα.

† εἰς.

‡ παιτῶν αὐτῶν.

ἂν λέγω γένησθε, οἶμαι καὶ τὰ δέοντα λέγειν
 δόξειν καὶ τὸν ἐφειστηκότα κίνδυνον τῇ πόλει*
 διαλύσειν. τί οὖν φημί δεῖν; πρῶτον μὲν τὸν
 παρόντα ἐπανεῖναι φόβον, εἴτα μεταθέσθαι καὶ
 φοβεῖσθαι πάντας ὑπὲρ Θηβαίων· πολὺ γὰρ
 τῶν δεινῶν εἰσὶν ἡμῶν† ἐγγυτέρω, καὶ προτέροις‡
 αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ὁ κίνδυνος· ἔπειτ' ἐξελθόντας Ἐλευ-
 σινιάδε τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας δεῖξαι
 πᾶσιν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὄντας, ἵνα
 τοῖς ἐν Θήβαις φρονοῦσι τὰ ὑμέτερα ἐξ ἴσου
 γένηται τὸ παρρήσιάζεσθαι περὶ τῶν δικαίων,
 εἰδόσιν ὅτι, ὥσπερ τοῖς πωλοῦσι Φιλίππῳ τὴν
 πατρίδα πάρεσθ' ἢ βοηθήσουσα δύναμις ἐν
 Ἐλατείᾳ, οὕτω τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνί-
 ζεσθαι βουλομένοις ὑπάρχειθ' ὑμεῖς ἔτοιμοι καὶ
 βοηθήσετ', ἐὰν τις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴῃ. μετὰ ταῦτα
 χειροτονῆσαι κελεύω δέκα πρέσβεις, καὶ ποιῆσαι
 τούτους κυρίους μετὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τοῦ
 πότε δεῖ βαδίζειν ἐκεῖσε καὶ τῆς ἐξόδου. ἐπειδὰν
 δ' ἔλθωσιν οἱ πρέσβεις εἰς Θήβας, πῶς χρήσα-
 σθαι τῷ πράγματι παραινῶ; τούτῳ πάνυ μοι
 προσέχετε τὸν νοῦν. μὴ δεῖσθε Θηβαίων μηδέν
 (αἰσχροὺς γὰρ ὁ καιρὸς) ἀλλ' ἐπαγγέλλεσθε
 βοηθήσειν, ἐὰν κελεύωσιν, ὥς ἐκείνων μὲν ὄντων
 ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις κινδύνοις,‡ ἡμῶν δὲ ἁμεινον ἢ

* τῇ πόλει κινδύνου.

† ἡμῶν.

‡ προτέροις.

κεῖνοι τὸ μέλλον προοραμένων· ἴν' ἂν μὲν δέξωνται ταῦτα καὶ πεισθῶσιν ἡμῖν, καὶ ἃ βουλόμεθα ὦμεν διπλημένοι καὶ μετὰ προσχήματος* ἀξίου τῆς πόλεως ταῦτα πράξωμεν, ἂν δ' ἄρα μὴ συμβῇ κατατυχεῖν, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἑαυτοῖς ἐγκαλῶσιν, ἅν τι νῦν ἐξαμαρτάνωσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν μηδὲ ταπεινὸν ἢ πεπραγμένον."

Ταῦτα καὶ † παραπλήσια τούτοις εἰπὼν κατέβην. συνεπαινεσάντων δὲ πάντων καὶ οὐδενὸς εἰπόντος ἐναντίον οὐδὲν οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔγραψα δέ, οὐδ' ἔγραψα μὲν, οὐκ ἐπρέσβευσα δέ, οὐδ' ἐπρέσβευσα μὲν, οὐκ ἔπεισα δὲ Θηβαίους· ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς διὰ πάντων ἄχρι τῆς τελευτῆς διεξῆλθον, καὶ ἔδωκ' ἑμαυτὸν ὑμῖν ἀπλῶς εἰς τοὺς περιστηκότας τῇ πόλει κινδύνους. ‡

Καί μοι φέρε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ τότε γεγόμενον. Καίτοι τίνα βούλει σέ, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ τίνα ἑμαυτὸν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν εἶναι θῶ; βούλει ἑμαυτὸν μὲν, ὃν ἂν σὺ λοιδορούμενος καὶ διασύρων καλέσαις, Βάταλον, σέ δὲ μηδ' ἦρω τὸν τυχόντα, ἀλλὰ τούτων τινὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς, Κρεσφόντην ἢ Κρέοντα ἢ ὃν ἐν Κολυττῷ ποτὲ Οἰνόμαον κακὸς κακῶς ὑποκρινόμενος ἐπέτριψας; τότε τοίνυν κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ὁ Παιανιεύς ἐγὼ Βάταλος Οἰνομάου τοῦ Κοθωκίδου σοῦ πλείονος ἄξιος ὢν ἐφάνη

* σχήματος.

† καὶ τα.

‡ τῇ πόλει περιστηκότας.

τῇ πατρίδι. σὺ μὲν γε οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ χρήσιμος
ἦσθα· ἐγὼ δὲ πάντα, ὅσα* προσῆκε τὸν ἀγαθὸν
πολίτην, ἔπραττον. Λέγε τὸ ψήφισμα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ.

Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ναυσικλέους, φυλῆς πρυτανευ-
ούσης Αἰαντίδος, σκιροφοριῶνος ἕκτη ἐπὶ δέκα,
Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένης Παιανιεύς εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ
Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ἔν τε τῷ παρε-
ληλυθότι χρόνῳ παραβαίνων φαίνεται τὰς γεγε-
νημένας αὐτῷ συνθήκας πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον
περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, ὑπεριδὼν τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τὰ
παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησι νομιζόμενα εἶναι δίκαια,
καὶ πόλεις παραιρεῖται οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσας,
τινὰς δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων οὕσας δοριαλώτους πεποίη-
κεν† οὐδὲν προαδικηθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθη-
ναίων, ἔν τε τῷ παρόντι ἐπὶ πολὺ προάγει τῇ τε
βίᾳ καὶ τῇ ὁμότητι· καὶ γὰρ Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις
αἷς μὲν ἐμφρούρους ποιεῖ καὶ τὰς πολιτείας κατα-
λύει, τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἐξανδραποδιζόμενος κατασκά-
πτει, εἰς ἐνίας δὲ καὶ ἀντὶ Ἑλλήνων βαρβάρους
κατοικίζει ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τοὺς τάφους ἐπάγων,
οὐδὲν ἀλλότριον ποιῶν οὔτε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος
οὔτε τοῦ τρόπου, καὶ τῇ νῦν αὐτῷ παρούσῃ τύχῃ

* ἅπαντα ἄ.

† ποιεῖ.

κατακόρως χρώμενος,* ἐπιλεησμένος ἑαυτοῦ ὅτι ἐκ μικροῦ καὶ τοῦ τυχόντος γέγονεν ἀνελπίστως μέγας. καὶ ἕως μὲν πόλεις ἑώρα παραιρούμενον αὐτὸν βαρβάρους καὶ ἰδίας, ὑπελάμβανεν ἔλαττον εἶναι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων τὸ εἰς αὐτὸν πλημμελεῖσθαι· νῦν δὲ ὁρῶν Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις τὰς μὲν ὑβριζομένας τὰς δὲ ἀναστάτους γιγνομένας, δεινὸν ἡγεῖται εἶναι καὶ ἀνάξιον τῆς τῶν προγόνων δόξης τὸ περιορᾶν τοὺς Ἑλληνας καταδουλουμένους. διὸ δέδοκται τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, εὐξαμένους καὶ θύσαντας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἤρωσι τοῖς κατέχουσι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἐνθυμηθέντας† τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς, διότι περὶ πλείονος ἐποιοῦντο τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίαν διατηρεῖν ἢ τὴν ἰδίαν πατρίδα, διακοσίας ναῦς κατέλκειν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καὶ τὸν ναύαρχον ἀναπλεῖν ἐντὸς Πυλῶν, καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ τὸν ἵππαρχον τὰς πεζὰς καὶ τὰς ἱππικὰς δυνάμεις Ἑλευσινάδε ἐξάγειν, πέμψαι δὲ καὶ πρέσβεις πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας, πρῶτον δὲ πάντων πρὸς Θηβαίους διὰ τὸ ἐγγυτάτω εἶναι τὸν Φίλιππον τῆς ἐκείνων χώρας, παρακαλεῖν δὲ αὐτοὺς μηδὲν καταπλαγέντας τὸν Φίλιππον ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας, καὶ ὅτι ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος, οὐδὲν μνησικακῶν εἴ τι

* καταχρωμενος.

† ἐνθυμηθεῖσι.

πρότερον γέγονεν ἀλλότριον ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς ἀλλήλας, βοηθήσει καὶ δυνάμεσι καὶ χρήμασι καὶ βέλεσι καὶ ὅπλοις, εἰδὼς ὅτι [καὶ] αὐτοῖς μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαμφισβητεῖν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας οὖσιν Ἑλλησι καλόν, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀλλοφύλου ἀνθρώπου ἄρχεσθαι καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀποστερεῖσθαι ἀνάξιον εἶναι καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων δόξης καὶ τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς. ἔτι δὲ οὐδὲ ἀλλότριον ἡγεῖται εἶναι ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος τὸν Θηβαίων δῆμον οὔτε τῇ συγγενείᾳ* οὔτε τῷ ὁμοφύλῳ. ἀναμιμνήσκεται δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τοὺς Θηβαίων προγόνους εὐεργεσίας· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς Ἡρακλέους παῖδας ἀποστερουμένους ὑπὸ Πελοποννησίων τῆς πατρῴας ἀρχῆς κατήγαγον, ταῖς ὅπλοις κρατήσαντες τοὺς ἀντιβαίνειν πειρωμένους τοῖς Ἡρακλέους ἐγγόνοις,† καὶ τὸν Οἰδίπουν καὶ τοὺς μετ' ἐκείνου ἐκπεσόντας ὑπεδεξάμεθα, καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ ἡμῖν‡ ὑπάρχει φιλάνθρωπα καὶ ἔνδοξα πρὸς Θηβαίους· διόπερ οὐδὲ νῦν ἀποστήσεται ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος τῶν Θηβαίοις τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλησι συμφερόντων. συνθέσθαι δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ συμμαχίαν καὶ ἐπιγαμίαν ποιήσασθαι καὶ ὄρκους δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν. πρέσβεις Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς, Ὑπερίδης Κλεάνδρου Σφήττιος, Μνησιθείδης Ἀντιφάνους Φρεῖάρριος, Δημοκράτης

* ευγενείᾳ.

† ἐκγονοῖς.

‡ ἡμῖν.

Σωφίλου Φλυεύς,* Κάλλαισχος Διοτίμου Κοθωκίδης.

Αὕτη τῶν περὶ Θήβας ἐγένετο πραγμάτων ἀρχὴ καὶ κατὰστασις πρώτη, τὰ πρὸ τούτων εἰς ἔχθραν καὶ μῖσος καὶ ἀπιστίαν τῶν πόλεων ὑπηγμένων ὑπὸ τούτων. τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν τότε τῇ πόλει περιστάντα κίνδυνον παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν ὥσπερ ἔεφος· ἦν μὲν τοίνυν τοῦ δικαίου πολίτου τότε δεῖξαι πᾶσιν, εἴ τι τούτων εἶχεν ἄμεινον, μὴ νῦν ἐπιτιμᾶν. ὁ γὰρ σύμβουλος καὶ ὁ συκοφάντης, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἐοικότες, ἐν τούτῳ πλεῖστον ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσιν· ὁ μὲν γε πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων γνώμην ἀποφαίνεται, καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτὸν ὑπεύθυνον τοῖς πεισθεῖσι, τῇ τύχῃ, τοῖς καιροῖς, τῷ βουλομένῳ· ὁ δὲ σιγήσας ἡνίκ' ἔδει λέγειν, ἂν τι δύσκολον συμβῇ, τοῦτο βασκαίνει. ἦν μὲν οὖν, ὅπερ εἶπον, ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς τοῦ γε φροντίζοντος ἀνδρὸς τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν δικαίων λόγων· ἐγὼ δὲ τοσαύτην ὑπερβολὴν ποιοῦμαι, ὥστε ἂν νῦν ἔχη τις δεῖξαί τι βέλτιον, ἢ ὅλως εἴ τι ἄλλο† ἐνῆν πλὴν ὧν ἐγὼ προειλόμην, ἀδικεῖν ὁμολογᾷ. εἰ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅτι τις‡ νῦν ἐώρακεν, ὃ συνήνεγκεν ἂν τότε πραχθέν, τοῦτ' ἐγὼ φημι δεῖν ἐμὲ μὴ λαθεῖν. εἰ δὲ μήτ' ἔστι μήτε ἦν μήτ' ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι μηδεὶς μηδέπω

* Φλυεύς.

† τότε ἐνῆν.

‡ ἐσθ' ὁ τις.

καὶ τήμερον, τί τὸν σύμβουλον ἐχρῆν ποιεῖν; οὐ τῶν φαινομένων καὶ ἐνόντων τὰ κράτιστα ἐλέσθαι; τοῦτο τοίνυν ἐποίησα ἐγώ, τοῦ κήρυκος ἐρωτῶντος, Αἰσχίνη, “τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται,” οὐ “τίς αἰτιᾶσθαι περὶ τῶν παρεληλυθότων,” οὐδὲ “τίς ἐγγυᾶσθαι τὰ μέλλοντ’ ἔσασθαι.” σοῦ δ’ ἀφάνου κατ’ ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καθημένου ἐγὼ παριὼν ἔλεγον. ἐπειδὴ δ’ οὐ τότε, ἀλλὰ νῦν δεῖξον. εἰπέ τίς ἦ λόγος, ὅντιν’ ἐχρῆν εὔρεῖν,* ἢ καιρὸς συμφέρων ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ παρελείφθῃ τῇ πόλει; τίς δὲ συμμαχία, τίς πρᾶξις, ἐφ’ ἣν μᾶλλον ἔδει με ἀγαγεῖν τουτουσί; Ἀλλὰ μὲν τὸ μὲν παρεληλυθὸς αἰὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀφεῖται, καὶ οὐδεὶς περὶ τούτου προτίθῃσιν οὐδαμοῦ βουλὴν· τὸ δὲ μέλλον ἢ τὸ παρὸν τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου τάξιν ἀπαιτεῖ. τότε τοίνυν τὰ μὲν ἡμελλεν, ὡς ἐδόκει, τῶν δεινῶν, τὰ δ’ ἤδη παρῆν, ἐν οἷς τὴν προαίρεσίν μου σκόπει τῆς πολιτείας, μὴ τὰ συμβάντα† συκοφάντει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πέρας, ὡς αἰὶν ὁ δαίμων βουληθῇ, πάντων γίγνεται· ἡ δὲ προαίρεσις αὐτῇ τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου διάνοιαν δηλοῖ. μὴ δὴ τοῦτο ὡς ἀδίκημα ἐμὸν θῆς, εἰ κρατῆσαι συνέβη Φιλίππῳ τῇ μάχῃ· ἐν γὰρ τῷ θεῷ τὸ τούτου τέλος ἦν, οὐκ ἐν ἐμοί. ἀλλ’ ὡς οὐχ ἅπαντα ὅσα ἱνῆν κατ’ ἀνθρώπινον λογισμὸν εἰλόμην, καὶ δικαίως

* ερεῖν.

† συμβαινόντα.

ταῦτα καὶ ἐπιμελῶς ἔπραξα καὶ φιλοπόνως ὑπὲρ
 δύναμιν, ἢ ὡς οὐ καλὰ καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἄξια πράγ-
 ματα ἐνεστησάμην καὶ ἀναγκαῖα, ταῦτά μοι
 δεῖξον, καὶ τότε * ἤδη κατηγόρει μου. εἰ δ' ὁ συμ-
 βὰς σκηπτὸς [ἢ χειμῶν] μὴ μόνον ἡμῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ
 πάντων τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μείζων γέγονε, τί χρῆ†
 ποιεῖν; ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ναύκληρον πάντ' ἐπὶ σω-
 τηρίᾳ πράξαντα, καὶ πᾶσι κατασκευάσαντα τὸ
 πλοῖον ἀφ' ὧν ὑπελάμβανε σωθήσεσθαι, εἴτα χει-
 μῶνι χρησάμενον καὶ πονησάντων αὐτῷ τῶν σκευῶν
 ἢ καὶ συντριβέντων ὅλως, τῆς ναυαγίας αἰτιῶτο.
 ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἐκυβέρνων τὴν ναῦν, φήσειεν ἂν, ὥσπερ
 οὐδ' ἐστρατήγουν ἐγώ, οὔτε τῆς τύχης κύριος ἦν,
 ἀλλ' ἐκείνη τῶν πάντων.

Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνο λογίζου καὶ ὄρα, εἰ μετὰ Θηβαίων
 ἡμῖν ἀγωνιζομένοις οὕτως εἴμαρτο πράξαι, τί χρῆν
 προσδοκᾶν, εἰ μὴδὲ τούτους ἔσχομεν συμμάχους
 ἀλλὰ Φιλίππῳ προσέθεντο, ὑπὲρ οὗ τότε ἐκεῖνος
 πάσας ἀφῆκε Φωνίας; καὶ εἰ νῦν τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ
 τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὁδὸν τῆς μάχης γενομένης τοσοῦτος
 κίνδυνος καὶ φόβος περιέστη τὴν πόλιν, τί ἂν, εἴ που
 τῆς χώρας‡ ταὐτὸ τοῦτο πάθος συνέβη, προσδοκῆ-
 σαι χρῆν; ἄρ' οἶσθ' ὅτι νῦν μὲν§ στῆναι, συνελθεῖν,
 ἀναπνεῦσαι, πολλὰ μία ἡμέρα καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς
 ἔδοσαν τῶν εἰς σωτηρίαν τῇ πόλει, τότε δ'—, οὐκ

* ταῦτ'. † χρῆν. ‡ χώρας πλησιον. § εἰην.

ἄξιον εἰπεῖν, ἃ* γε μὴδὲ πείραν ἔδωκε θεῶν τινὸς εὐνοια καὶ τὸ προβαλίσθαι τὴν πόλιν ταύτην τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἧς σὺ κατηγορεῖς. Ἔστι δὲ ταυτὶ πάντα μοι, τὰ πολλά, πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες δικασταί, καὶ τοὺς περιεστηκότας ἔξωθεν καὶ ἀκροαμένους, ἐπεὶ πρὸς γε τοῦτον [αὐτὸν] τὸν κατὰ πτυστον βραχὺς καὶ σαφὴς ἐξήρκει † λόγος.

Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν σοι πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα, Αἰσχίνη, μόνῳ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅτ' ἐβουλευέθ' ἡ πόλις περὶ τούτων, τότε ἔδει προλέγειν. εἰ δὲ μὴ προήδεις, τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγνοίας ‡ ὑπεύθυνος εἶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥστε τί μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ σὺ ταῦτα κατηγορεῖς ἢ ἐγὼ σοῦ; τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀμείνων ἐγὼ σοῦ πολίτης γέγονα εἰς αὐτὰ ταῦθ' ἃ λέγω (καὶ οὐκ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων διαλέγομαι), ὅσον ἐγὼ μὲν ἔδωκα ἑμαυτὸν εἰς τὰ πᾶσι δοκοῦντα συμφέρειν, οὐδένα κίνδυνον ὀκνήσας ἴδιον οὐδ' ὑπολογισάμενος, σὺ δὲ οὐθ' ἕτερα εἶπες βελτίῳ τούτων (οὐ γὰρ ἂν τούτοις ἐχρῶντο), οὐτ' εἰς ταῦτα χρήσιμον οὐδὲν σαυτὸν παρίσχεις, ὅπερ ὃ ἂν ὁ φαυλότατος καὶ δυσμενέστατος ἄνθρωπος τῇ πόλει, τοῦτο πεποιηκὼς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβαῖσιν ἐξήτασαι, καὶ ἅμα Ἀρίστρατος ἐν Νάξῳ καὶ Ἀριστόλεως § ἐν Θάσῳ, || οἱ καθάπαξ ἐχθροὶ τῆς πόλεως, τοὺς Ἀθηναίων κρίνουσι φίλους καὶ Ἀθηνησιν Αἰσχίνης Δημοσθένους κατηγορεῖ. καίτοι

* ὧν. † ἐξήρκει μοι. ‡ ἀνοίας. § Ἀριστολαος. || Θασσῳ.

ὅτῳ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀτυχήματα ἐνευδοκιμεῖν ἀπέκειτο, ἀπολωλέναι μᾶλλον οὗτός ἐστι δίκαιος ἢ κατηγορεῖν ἑτέρου· καὶ ὅτῳ συνεννόχασιν οἱ αὐτοὶ καιροὶ καὶ τοῖς τῆς πόλεως ἐχθροῖς, οὐκ ἐνι τοῦτον εὖνουν εἶναι τῇ πατρίδι. δηλοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ᾧ ζῆς καὶ ποιεῖς καὶ πολιτεύῃ καὶ πάλιν οὐ πολιτεύῃ.* πρᾶτ-
 τεταιί τι τῶν ὑμῖν δοκούντων συμφέρειν; ἄφρωνος Αἰσχίνης. ἀντέκρουσέ τι καὶ γέγονεν οἷον οὐκ ἔδει; πάρεστιν Αἰσχίνης· ὥσπερ τὰ ῥήγματα καὶ τὰ σπάσματα,† ὅταν τι κακὸν τὸ σῶμα λάβῃ, τότε κινεῖται.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολὺς τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν ἔγκειται, βούλομαί τι καὶ παράδοξον εἰπεῖν· καὶ μου πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν μηδεὶς τὴν ὑπερβολὴν θαυμάσῃ, ἀλλὰ μετ' εὐνοίας ὃ λέγω θεωρησάτω. εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἅπασι πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα γενήσεσθαι, καὶ προήδεσαν ἅπαντες, καὶ σὺ προὔλεγες Αἰσχίνῃ καὶ διεμαρτύρου βωῶν καὶ κεκραγῶς, ὅς οὐδ' ἐφθέγξω, οὐδ' οὕτως ἀποστατίον τῇ πόλει τούτων ἦν, εἴπερ ἢ δόξης ἢ προγόνων‡ ἢ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος εἶχε λόγον. νῦν μὲν γε ἀποτυχεῖν δοκεῖ τῶν πραγμάτων, ὃ πᾶσι κοινόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις, ὅταν τῷ θεῷ ταῦτα δοκῇ· τότε δ' ἀξιοῦσα προεστάναι τῶν ἄλλων, εἴτ' ἀποσταῖσα τούτου, Φιλίππῳ προδεδω-
 κέναι πάντας ἂν ἔσχεν αἰτίαν. εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα

* πολιτενεῖ.

† σπαραγματα.

‡ δόξης των προγονων.

προεῖτο ἀκονίτι,* περὶ ἃν οὐδένα κίνδυνον ὄντιν' οὐχὶ
 ὑπέμειναν οἱ πρόγονοι, τίς† οὐχὶ κατέπτυσεν ἂν σου;
 μὴ γὰρ τῆς πόλεώς γε, μηδ' ἐμοῦ. τίσι δ' ὀφθαλ-
 μοῖς πρὸς Διὸς ἐαυρῶμεν ἂν τοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν
 ἀνθρώπους ἀφικνουμένους, εἰ τὰ μὲν πράγματ' εἰς
 ὅπερ νυνὶ περιέστη,‡ ἡγεμῶν δὲ καὶ κύριος ἡρέθη
 Φίλιππος ἀπάντων, τὸν δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ γενέσθαι
 ταῦτ' ἀγῶνα ἕτεροι χωρὶς ἡμῶν ἦσαν πεποιημένοι,
 καὶ ταῦτα μηδεπώποτε τῆς πόλεως ἐν τοῖς ἔμ-
 προσθε χρόνοις ἀσφάλειαν ἄδοξον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν
 ὑπὲρ τῶν καλῶν κίνδυνον ἡρημένης. τίς γὰρ οὐκ
 οἶδεν Ἑλλήνων, τίς δὲ βαρβάρων, ὅτι καὶ παρὰ
 Θηβαίων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἔτι τούτων πρότερον ἰσχυ-
 ρῶν γενομένων§ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Περ-
 σῶν βασιλέως μετὰ πολλῆς χάριτος τοῦτ' ἂν
 ἀσμένως ἐδόθη τῇ πόλει, ὅτι βούλεται λαβούση
 καὶ τὰ ἐαυτῆς ἐχούση τὸ κελεύόμενον ποιεῖν καὶ
 ἑᾶν ἕτερον τῶν Ἑλλήνων προεστάναι. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν
 ταῦθ', ὡς ἔοικε, τοῖς τότε Ἀθηναίοις πάτρια οὐδ'
 ἀνεκτὰ οὐδ' ἔμφυτα, οὐδ' ἠδυνήθη πώποτε τὴν πόλιν
 οὐδεὶς ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου πείσαι τοῖς ἰσχύουσι
 μὲν μὴ δίκαια δὲ πράττουσι προσθεμένην ἀσφαλῶς
 δουλεύειν, ἀλλ' ἀγανίζομένη περὶ πρωτείων καὶ
 τιμῆς καὶ δόξης κινδυνεύουσα πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα
 διατετέλεικε. καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτω σεμνὰ καὶ προσήκοντα

* ακοντι & ακονητι. † τις αν ουχι καταπτυσειεν σου ;

‡ περιστηκει. § γεγεννημεγων.

τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἤθεσιν ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνετ' εἶναι, ὥστε καὶ τῶν προγόνων τοὺς ταῦτα πράξαντας μάλιστ' ἐπαινεῖτε, εἰκότως. τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀγάσαιο τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων τῆς ἀρετῆς, οἳ καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν ὑπέμειναν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις ἐμβάντες * ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τὸ κελεύόμενον ποιῆσαι, τὸν μὲν ταῦτα συμβουλευσάντα Θεμιστοκλέα στρατηγὸν ἐλόμενοι, τὸν δ' ὑπακούειν ἀποφινάμενον τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις Κυρσίλον καταλιθώσαντες, οὐ μόνον αὐτόν, † ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ ὑμέτεραι τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ. οὐ γὰρ ἐζήτουν οἱ τότε Ἀθηναῖοι οὔτε ῥήτορα οὔτε στρατηγὸν δι' ὅτου δουλεύουσιν εὐτυχῶς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ζῆν ἡξίου, εἰ μὴ μετ' ἐλευθερίας ἐξίσται τοῦτο ποιεῖν. ἡγεῖτο γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος οὐχὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ μόνον γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι. διαφέρει δὲ τί; ὅτι ὁ μὲν τοῖς γονεῦσι μόνον γεγενῆσθαι νομίζων τὸν τῆς εἰμαρμένης καὶ τὸν αὐτόματον θάνατον περιμένει, ὁ δὲ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ταύτην ἐπιδεῖν δουλεύουσαν ἀποθνήσκειν ἐβελήσει, καὶ φοβερωτέρας ἡγήσεται τὰς ὕβρεις καὶ τὰς ἀτιμίας, ἃς ἐν δουλευούσῃ τῇ πόλει φέρειν ἀνάγκη, τοῦ θανάτου.

Εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτ' ἐπεχείρουν λέγειν, ὥς ‡ ἐγὼ προήγαγον ὑμᾶς ἄξια τῶν προγόνων φρονεῖν, οὐκ

* εκβαιντες.

† αὐτον ὑμεῖς.

‡ ὥς ἀρα.

ἴσθ' ὅστις οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἐπιτιμήσειέ μοι. νῦν δ' ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμετέρας τὰς τοιαύτας προαιρέσεις ἀποφαίνω, καὶ δείκνυμι ὅτι καὶ πρὸ ἐμοῦ τοῦτ' εἶχε τὸ φρόνημα ἡ πόλις, τῆς μέντοι διακονίας τῆς ἐφ' ἐκάστοις τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ ἐμαυτῷ μετεῖναι φημι, οὗτος δὲ τῶν ὅλων κατηγορῶν, καὶ κελεύων ὑμᾶς ἐμοὶ πικρῶς ἔχειν ὡς φόβων καὶ κινδύνων αἰτίῳ τῇ πόλει γεγεννημένῳ, τῆς μὲν εἰς τὸ παρὸν τιμῆς ἐμὲ ἀποστερεῖσθαι γλίσχεται, τὰ δ' εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἐγκώμια ὑμῶν ἀφαιρεῖται. εἰ γὰρ* ὡς οὐ τὰ βέλτιστα ἐμοῦ πολιτευσαμένου τουδὲ καταψηφιεῖσθε, ἡμαρτηκέναι δόξετε, οὐ τῇ τῆς τύχης ἀγνωμοσύνῃ τὰ συμβάντα παθεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἡμάρτετε,† ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπάντων ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας κίνδυνον ἀράμενοι, μὰ τοὺς Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνεύσαντας τῶν προγόνων καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς παραταξαμένους καὶ τοὺς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχῆσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ καὶ πολλοὺς ἑτέρους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις μνήμασι κειμένους ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, οὓς ἅπαντας ὁμοίως ἡ πόλις τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξιώσασα τιμῆς ἔθαψεν, Αἰσχίνη, οὐχὶ τοὺς κατορθώσαντας αὐτῶν οὐδὲ τοὺς κρατήσαντας μόνους. δικαίως. ὃ μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργον, ἅπασι πέπρακται· τῇ τύχῃ δ', ἣν ὁ δαίμων

* γὰρ οὐχ'.

† ἡμαρτηκατε.

ἔνειμει* ἐκάστοις, ταύτῃ κέχρηται.

Ἐπειτ', ὦ κατάρατε καὶ γραμματοκύφων, σὺ μὲν τῆς παρὰ τουτωνὶ τιμῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας ἔμ' ἀποστερῆσαι βουλόμενος τρόπαια καὶ μάχας καὶ παλαιὰ ἔργα ἔλεγες, ὧν τίνος προσεδεῖτο ὁ παρὰν ἀγὼν οὐτοσί; ἐμὲ δέ, ὦ τριταγωνιστά, τὸν περὶ τῶν πρᾶτείων σύμβουλον τῇ πόλει παριόντα τὸ τίνος φρόνημα λαβόντ' † ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμ' ἔδει; τὸ τοῦ τούτων ἀνάξια ἐροῦντος; δικαίως μὲντ' ἂν ἀπέθανον. ἐπεὶ‡ οὐδ' ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς διανοίας δεῖ τὰς τε ἰδίας δίκας καὶ τὰς δημοσίας κρίνειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν βίου συμβόλαια ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων νόμων καὶ ἔργων σκοποῦντας, τὰς δὲ κοινὰς προαιρέσεις εἰς τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἀξιώματα ἀποβλέποντας. καὶ παραλαμβάνειν γε ἅμα τῇ βακτηρίᾳ καὶ τῷ συμβόλῳ τὸ φρόνημα τὸ τῆς πόλεως νομίζειν ἕκαστον ὑμῶν δεῖ, ὅταν τὰ δημόσια εἰσίστητε κρινούντες, εἴπερ ἄξια ἐκείνων πρᾶττειν οἴεσθε χρῆναι. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐμπεσὼν§ εἰς τὰ πεπραγμένα τοῖς προγόνοις ὑμῶν ἔστιν ἅ τῶν ψηφισμάτων παρέβην καὶ τῶν|| πραχθέντων. ἐπανελθεῖν οὖν, ὁπόθεν εἰς ταῦτ' ἐξέβην, βούλομαι.

Ὡς γὰρ ἀφικόμεθ' εἰς τὰς Θήβας, κατελαμβάνομεν Φιλίππου καὶ Θετταλῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων παρόντας πρέσβεις, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἡμε-

* απενειμει. † αναλαβοιτα. ‡ επειτα. § εκπεσων.
|| των τότε.

τέρους φίλους ἐν φόβῳ, τοὺς δ' ἐκείνου θρασεῖς. ὅτι δ' οὐ νῦν ταῦτα λέγω τοῦ συμφέροντος ἕνεκα ἑμαυτῷ, λέγε μοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν τότ' ἐπέμψαμεν εὐθύς οἱ πρέσβεις. καίτοι τοσαύτη γ' ὑπερβολῇ συκοφαντίας οὗτος κέχρηται, ὥστ' εἰ μὲν τι τῶν δεόντων ἐπράχθη, τὸν καιρὸν, οὐκ ἐμέ φησιν αἴτιον γεγενῆσθαι, τῶν δ' ὡς ἑτέρως συμβάντων ἀπάντων ἐμὲ καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην αἰτίαν εἶναι. καὶ ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ σύμβουλος καὶ ῥήτωρ ἐγὼ τῶν μὲν ἐκ λόγου καὶ τοῦ βουλευσασθαι* πρᾶχθέντων οὐδενὸς αὐτῷ συναίτιος εἶναι δοκῶ, τῶν δ' ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀτυχηθέντων μόνος αἴτιος εἶναι. πῶς ἂν ὡμότερος συκοφάντης γένοιτ' ἢ καταρατότερος; λέγε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, προσῆγον ἐκείνους† προτέρους διὰ τὸ τὴν τῶν συμμάχων τάξιν ἐκείνους ἔχειν. καὶ παρελθόντες ἐδημηγόρουν πολλὰ μὲν Φίλιππον ἐγκωμιάζοντες, πολλὰ δ' ὑμῶν κατηγοροῦντες, πάνθ' ὅσα πάποτ' ἐναντία ἐπράξατε Θηβαίοις ἀναμιμνήσκοντες. τὸ δ' οὖν κεφάλαιον, ἡξίουεν ἂν μὲν εὖ πεπόνθουσιν‡ ὑπὸ Φιλίππου χάριν αὐτοὺς ἀποδοῦναι, ἂν δ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἡδίκηντο δίκην λαβεῖν, ὁποτέρως βούλονται, ἢ διέντας

* βουλευσθαι.

† Θετταλοῖς.

‡ πεποιθασιν.

αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἢ συνεμβالόντας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, καὶ ἐδείκνυσαν, ὡς ᾤοντο, ἐκ μὲν ὧν αὐτοὶ συνεβούλευον τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς βοσκήματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ τᾶλλ' ἄγαθὰ εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἤζοντα, ἐκ δὲ ὧν ἡμᾶς ἐρεῖν ἔφασαν τὰ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ διαρπασθησόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις, εἰς ταῦτά δὲ πάντα συντείνοντ' ἔλεγον. ἃ δ' ἡμεῖς πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντείπομεν, τὰ μὲν καθ' ἕκαστα ἐγὼ μὲν ἀντὶ παντὸς ἂν τιμησαίμην εἰπεῖν τοῦ βίου, ὑμᾶς δὲ δέδοικα, μὴ παρεληλυθότων τῶν καιρῶν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ κατακλυσμὸν γεγενηῆσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων ἡγούμενοι, μάταιον ὄχλον τοὺς περὶ τούτων λόγους νομίσητε· ἃ δ' οὖν ἐπέισαμεν ἡμεῖς καὶ ἃ ἡμῖν ἀπεκρίναντο, ἀκούσατε. Λέγε ταυτὶ λαβών.

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ.

Μετὰ ταῦτα τοῖνον ἐκάλουν ὑμᾶς καὶ μετεπέμποντο. ἐξῆτε,* ἐβοηθεῖτε, ἵνα τὰν μέσῃ παραλείπω, οὕτως οἰκείως ὑμᾶς ἐδέχοντο, ὥστ' ἔξω τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ὄντων εἰς τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὸ ἄστυ δέχεσθαι τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τιμιώτατα. καίτοι τρία ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐδειξαν ἐγκώμια

* εἰρηεῖτε.

Θηβαῖοι καθ' ὑμῶν τὰ κάλλιστα, ἐν μὲν ἀνδρίας, ἕτερον δὲ δικαιοσύνης, τρίτον δὲ σωφροσύνης. καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἀγῶνα μεθ' ὑμῶν μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλόμενοι ποιήσασθαι καὶ ἀμείνους εἶναι καὶ δικαιοτέρ' ἀξιοῦν ὑμᾶς ἔκριναν Φιλίππου.* καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι δ' ἐν πλείστη φυλακῇ, παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας, ἐφ' ὑμῖν ποιήσαντες σωφροσύνης πίστιν περὶ ὑμῶν ἔχοντες ἔδειξαν. ἐν οἷς πᾶσιν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατὰ γ' ὑμᾶς † ὀρθῶς ἐφάνησαν ἐγνωκότες. οὔτε γὰρ εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσελθόντος τοῦ στρατοπέδου οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἀδίκως ὑμῖν ἐνεκάλεσεν· οὕτω σάφρονας παρέσχεσθε ‡ ὑμᾶς αὐτούς· δῖς τε συμπαραταξάμενοι § τὰς πρώτας μάχας, τὴν τ' ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὴν χειμερινήν, οὐκ ἀμέμπτους μόνον ὑμᾶς αὐτούς ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυμαστοὺς ἐδείξατε τῷ κόσμῳ, ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, τῇ προθυμίᾳ. ἐφ' οἷς παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ὑμῖν ἐγίγνοντο ἔπαινοι, παρὰ δ' ὑμῶν θυσίαι καὶ πομπαὶ τοῖς θεοῖς. καὶ ἔγωγε ἡδέως ἂν ἐροίμην Αἰσχίνην, ὅτε ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο || καὶ ζήλου καὶ χαρᾶς καὶ ἐπαίνων ἢ πόλις ἦν μιστή, πότερον συνέβη καὶ συνευφραίνετο τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἢ λυπούμενος καὶ στένων καὶ δυσμεναίνων ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀγαθοῖς οἴκοι καθῆτο; εἰ μὲν γὰρ παρῆν καὶ μετὰ τῶν

* εκριναν ἢ Φιλίππον.

§ παταξάμενοι.

† ὑμῶν.

|| επραττετε.

‡ παρσχετε.

ἄλλων ἐξητάζετο, πῶς οὐ δεινὰ ποιεῖ, μᾶλλον δ' οὐδ' ὅσια, εἰ ὧν ὡς ἀρίστων* αὐτὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἐποίησατο μάρτυρας, ταῦθ' ὡς οὐκ ἄριστα† νῦν ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῖ ψηφίσασθαι τοὺς ὁμωμοκότας τοὺς θεοὺς; εἰ δὲ μὴ παρῇν, πῶς οὐκ ἀπολωλέναι πολλάκις ἐστὶ δίκαιος, εἰ ἐφ' οἷς ἔχαιρον οἱ ἄλλοι, ταῦτα ἐλυπεῖτο ὀρῶν; Λέγε δὴ καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματά μοι.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ ΘΥΣΙΩΝ.

Οὐκοῦν ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐν θυσίαις ἤμεν τότε, Θηβαῖοι δ' ἐν τῇ δι' ἡμᾶς σεσῶσθαι νομίζουσιν, καὶ περιεστήκει τοῖς‡ βοηθείας δεήσεσθαι δοκοῦσιν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπραττον οὗτοι, αὐτοὺς§ βοηθεῖν ἑτέροις ἐξ ὧν ἐπείσθητ' ἐμοί. ἀλλὰ μὴν οἷας τότε ἠφίει Φωνᾶς ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ ἐν οἷαις ἦν ταραχαῖς ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τῶν ἐκείνου μαθήσεσθε ὧν εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἔπεμπεν. καὶ μοι λέγε ταύτας λαβάν, ἵν' εἰδῇτε, ἡ ἐμὴ συνέχεια καὶ πλάνοι|| καὶ ταλαιπωρίαι καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ψηφίσματα, ἃ νῦν οὗτος διέσυρε, τί ἀπειργάσατο. Καίτοι πολλοὶ παρ' ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, γεγόνασι ῥήτορες ἔνδοξοι καὶ μεγάλοι πρὸ ἐμοῦ, Καλλίστρατος ἐκεῖνος, Ἀριστοφῶν, Κέφαλος, Θρασύβουλος, ἕτεροι μυρίοι

* ἀρίστων ὄντων. † ἀξία. ‡ τας. § αὐτοῖς. || πλανη.

ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδεὶς πώποτε τούτων διὰ παντός
 ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς οὐδὲν τῇ πόλει, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν
 γράφων οὐκ ἂν ἐπρέσβευσεν, ὁ δὲ πρεσβεύων
 οὐκ ἂν ἔγραψεν. ὑπελείπετο γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκα-
 στος ἑαυτῷ ἅμα μὲν ῥαστώνην, ἅμα δ', εἴ τι
 γίγνοιτ', ἀναφοράν. τί οὖν; εἴποι τις ἂν, σὺ
 τοσοῦτον ὑπερῆρας τοὺς ἄλλους ῥώμη καὶ τόλμη
 ὥστε πάντα ποιεῖν αὐτός; οὐ ταῦτα λέγω, ἀλλ'
 οὕτως ἐπεπείσμην μέγαν εἶναι τὸν κατειληφότα
 κίνδυνον τὴν πόλιν, ὥστ' οὐκ ἔδόκει μοι χάραν* οὐδὲ
 πρόνοιαν οὐδεμίαν τῆς ἰδίας ἀσφαλείας διδόναι,
 ἀλλ' ἀγαπητὸν εἶναι, εἰ μηδὲν παραλείπων τις ἂν
 δεῖ πράξειεν. ἐπεπείσμην δ' ὑπὲρ ἑμαυτοῦ, τυχὸν
 μὲν ἀναισθητῶν,† ὅμως δ' ἐπεπείσμην, μήτε γρά-
 φοντ' ἂν ἐμοῦ γράψαι βέλτιον μηδένα, μήτε
 πράττοντα πρᾶξαι, μήτε πρεσβεύοντα πρεσβεῦσαι
 προθυμότερον μηδὲ δικαιότερον. διὰ ταῦτα ἐν
 ἅπασιν ἑμαυτὸν ἔταττον. Λέγε τὰς ἐπιστολάς
 τὰς τοῦ Φιλίππου.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ.

Εἰς ταῦτα κατέστησε Φίλιππον ἡ ἐμὴ πολιτεία,
 Λίσχινῃ ταύτῃ τὴν φωνὴν ἐκεῖνος ἀφῆκε δι' ἐμέ,
 πολλοὺς καὶ θρασεῖς τὰ πρὸ τούτων τῇ πόλει ἵπαι-

* ὥραν.

† ἀναισθητως.

ρόμενος λόγους. ἀνθ' ὧν δικαίως ἐστεφανούμην
 ὑπὸ τούτων, καὶ σὺ παρὰν οὐκ ἀντέλεγες, ὁ δὲ
 γραψάμενος Διωνῆδας τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων οὐκ
 ἔλαβεν. Καί μοι λέγε ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματα
 τὰ τότε μὲν ἀποπεφευγότα, ὑπὸ τούτου δ' οὐδὲ*
 γραφείτα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

Ταυτὶ τὰ ψηφίσματ' ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὰς
 αὐτὰς συλλαβὰς καὶ †ταῦτα ῥήματ' ἔχει, ἅπερ
 πρότερον μὲν Ἀριστόνικος νῦν δὲ Κτησιφῶν γέγρα-
 φεν οὕτως. καὶ ταῦτ' Αἰσχίνης οὗτ' ἐδιώξεν αὐτὸς
 οὔτε τῷ γραψάμενῳ συγκατηγόρησεν. καίτοι
 τότε τὸν Δημομέλη τὸν ταῦτα γράφοντα καὶ τὸν
 Ὑπερίδην, εἵπερ ἀληθῆ μου νῦν κατηγορεῖ, μάλ-
 λον ἂν εἰκότως ἢ τόνδ' ἐδίωκεν. διὰ τί; ὅτι τῷ μὲν
 ἔστ' ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐπ' ἐκείνους καὶ τὰς τῶν δικαστη-
 ρίων γνώσεις καὶ τὸ τοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐκείνων ‡ μὴ κατη-
 γορηκεῖναι ταῦτα γραψάντων ἅπερ οὗτος νυνί, καὶ
 τὸ τοὺς νόμους μηκέτ' ἔἴην περὶ τῶν οὕτω πρα-
 χθέντων κατηγορεῖν, καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα· τότε δ' αὐτὸ
 τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἂν ἐκρίνετο ἐφ' αὐτοῦ, πρὶν τι τούτων§
 προλαβεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν οἶμαι τότε, ὃ νυνὶ ποιεῖ,
 ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων καὶ ψηφισμάτων πολλῶν ἐκ-
 λέξαντα, ἃ μῆτε προῆδει μηδεὶς μῆτ' ἂν ᾤσθη

* ου.

† τα αὐτα.

‡ ἐκεῖνον.

§ τούτου.

τῆμερον ῥηθῆναι, διαβάλλειν, καὶ μετενεγκόντα τοὺς χρόνους καὶ προφάσεις ἀντὶ τῶν ἀληθῶν ψευδεῖς μεταθέντα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις δοκεῖν τι λέγειν. οὐκ ἦν τότε ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ* τῆς ἀληθείας, ἐγγὺς τῶν ἔργων, ἔτι μεμνημένων ὑμῶν καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἕκαστα ἐχόντων, πάντες ἐγίγοντ' ἂν οἱ λόγοι. διόπερ τοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματ' ἐλέγχους φυγὰν νῦν ὕστερον ἤκει, ῥητόρων ἀγῶνα νομίζων, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, καὶ οὐχὶ τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἐξέτασιν ποιήσκειν ὑμᾶς, καὶ λόγου κρίσιν, οὐ τοῦ τῇ πόλει συμφέροντος ἔσεσθαι.

Εἴτα σοφίζεται, καὶ φησὶ προσήκειν, ἥς μὲν οἴκοθεν ἤκετ' ἔχοντες δόξης περὶ ἡμῶν ἀμελῆσαι. ὥσπερ δ', ὅταν οἰόμενοι περιεῖναι χρήματά τῃ λογίζεσθε, ἂν καθαραὶ ᾧσιν αἱ ψῆφοι καὶ μηδὲν περιῇ, συγχωρεῖτε, οὕτω καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ λόγου φαινομένοις† προσθέσθαι. θεάσασθε τοίνυν ὥς σαθρὸν, ὥς ἔοικεν, ἔστι φύσει πᾶν ὅτι ἂν μὴ δικαίως ἢ πεπραγμένον. ἐκ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ σοφοῦ τούτου παραδείγματος ἀμολόγηκε νυνὶ ὑμᾶς ὑπάρχειν ἔγνωσμένους‡ ἐμὲ μὲν λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, αὐτὸν δ' ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου· οὐ γὰρ ἂν μεταπείθειν ὑμᾶς ἐζήτηι μὴ τοιαύτης οὔσης τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ὑπολήψεως περὶ ἑκατέρου. καὶ μὲν ὅτι γε οὐ δίκαια λέγει μεταθέσθαι ταύτην τὴν δόξαν ἀξιῶν

* ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς. † προφαινομένοις. ‡ ἐγνωκotas.

ὕμᾱς, ἐγὼ διδάξω ῥαδίως, οὐ τιθεὶς ψήφους (οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων* οὗτος λογισμὸς) ἀλλ' ἀναμιμνήσκων ἕκαστα ἐν βραχείσι, λογισταῖς ἅμα καὶ μάρτυσι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὑμῖν χρώμενος.

Ἡ γὰρ ἐμὴ πολιτεία, ἥς οὗτος κατηγορεῖ, ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ Θηβαίου μετὰ Φιλίππου συνεμβαλεῖν† εἰς τὴν χώραν, ὃ πάντες ᾤοντο [ἔσεσθαι], μεθ' ἡμῶν παραταξαμένους ἐκείνον κωλύειν ἐποίησεν, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ τὸν πόλεμον εἶναι ἐπτακόσια στάδια ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τοῖς Βοιωτῶν ὁρίοις γενέσθαι, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τοὺς ληστὰς ἡμᾶς φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐκ θαλάττης εἶναι πάντα τὸν πόλεμον, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἔχειν Φίλιππον, λαβόντα Βυζάντιον, συμπολεμεῖν τοὺς Βυζαντίους μεθ' ἡμῶν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον.‡ Ἄρα σοι ψήφοις ὅμοιοις ὁ τῶν ἔργων λογισμὸς φαίνεται; ἢ δεῖν ἀντανελεῖν ταῦτα, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅπως τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον μνημονευθήσεται σκεψασθαι; καὶ οὐκέτι προστίθῃμι ὅτι τῆς μὲν ἀμότητος, ἣν ἐν οἷς καθάπαξ τινῶν κύριος κατέστη Φίλιππος ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν, ἐτέροις πειραθῆναι συνέβη, τῆς δὲ φιλανθρωπίας, ἣν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκεῖνος περιβαλλόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπλάττετο, ὑμεῖς καλῶς ποιῶντες τοὺς καρποὺς κεκόμισθε. ἀλλ' ἐῷ ταῦτα. Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν ὀκνήσω, ὅτι ὁ τὸν

* χρημάτων. † συνεμβάλειν. ‡ ἐκεῖνον ἐποίησεν.

ρήτορα βουλόμενος δικαίως ἐξετάζειν καὶ μὴ συκοφαντεῖν, οὐκ ἂν οἶα σὺ νῦν ἔλεγες, τοιαῦτα κατηγορεῖ, παραδείγματα πλάττων καὶ ῥήματα καὶ σχήματα μιμούμενος (πάνυ γὰρ παρὰ* τοῦτο, οὐχ ὁρᾷς; γέγονε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, εἰ τουτὶ τὸ ῥῆμα ἀλλὰ μὴ τουτὶ διελέχθην ἐγώ, ἢ δευρὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἀλλὰ μὴ δευρὶ παρήνεγκα), ἀλλ' ἐπ'† αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἂν ἐσκόπει, τίνας εἶχεν ἀφορμὰς ἢ πόλεις καὶ τίνας δυνάμεις, ὅτ' εἰς τὰ πρᾶγματ' εἰσῆιν, καὶ τίνας συνήγαγον αὐτῇ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐπιστάς ἐγώ, καὶ πῶς εἶχε τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων. εἴτ' ἐν μὲν ἐλάττους ἐποίησα τὰς δυνάμεις, παρ' ἐμοὶ τὰ δίκημ' ἂν ἐδείκνυεν ὄν, εἰ δὲ πολλῶ μείζους, οὐκ ἂν ἐσυκοφάντει. ἐπειδὴ δὲ σὺ τοῦτο πέφευγας, ἐγὼ ποιήσω· καὶ σκοπεῖτε, εἰ δικαίως χρῆσομαι τῷ λόγῳ.

Δύναμιν μὲν τοίνυν εἶχεν ἡ πόλις τοὺς νησιώτας, οὐχ ἅπαντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους· οὔτε γὰρ Χίος οὔτε Ῥόδος οὔτε Κέρκυρα μεθ' ἡμῶν ἦν· χρημάτων δὲ σύνταξιν εἰς πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα τάλαντα, καὶ ταῦτ' ἦν προεξιλεγμένα·‡ ὀπλίτην δ' ἢ ἰππεία πλὴν τῶν οἰκείων οὐδὲνα. ὁ δὲ πάντων καὶ φοβερώτατον καὶ μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, οὗτοι παρσκευάκεισαν τοὺς περὶχώρους πάντας ἐχθρας ἢ φιλίας ἐγγυτέρω,

* δια.

† εξ.

‡ προαπατημένα.

Μεγαρεῖς, Θηβαίους, Εὐβοίας. τὰ μὲν τῆς πό-
 λεως οὕτως ὑπῆρχεν ἔχοντα, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν ἔχοι
 παρὰ ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν ἄλλο οὐδέν· τὰ δὲ τοῦ Φιλίπ-
 που, πρὸς ὃν ἦν ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγὼν, σκέψασθε πῶς.
 πρῶτον μὲν ἦρχε τῶν ἀκολουθούντων αὐτὸς αὐτο-
 κράτωρ ὢν, ὃ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον μέγιστόν ἐστιν
 ἀπάντων· εἴθ' οὗτοι τὰ ὄπλα εἶχον ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν
 αἰεί· ἔπειτα χρημάτων εὐπόρει, καὶ ἔπραττεν, ἃ
 δόξειεν αὐτῷ, οὐ προλέγων ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν,
 οὐδ' ἐν τῷ φανερῷ βουλευόμενος, οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῶν
 συκοφαντούντων κρινόμενος, οὐδὲ γραφὰς φεύγων
 παρανόμων, οὐδ' ὑπεύθυνος ὢν οὐδενί, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς
 αὐτὸς δεσπότης, ἡγεμὼν, κύριος πάντων. ἐγὼ δ' ὁ
 πρὸς τοῦτον ἀντιτεταγμένος (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐξε-
 τάσαι δίκαιον) τίνος κύριος ἦν; οὐδενός· αὐτὸ
 γὰρ τὸ δημηγορεῖν πρῶτον, οὗ μόνου* μετεῖχον
 ἐγώ, ἐξ ἴσου προϋτίθεθ' ὑμεῖς τοῖς παρ' ἐκείνου
 μισθαργοῦσι καὶ ἐμοί, καὶ ὅσα οὗτοι περιγέ-
 νοιντο ἐμοῦ (πολλὰ δ' ἐγίγνετο ταῦτα, δι' ἣν ἕκα-
 στον τύχοι† πρόσφασιν), ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν
 ἀπῆτε βεβουλευμένοι. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐκ τοιούτων
 ἐλαττωμάτων ἐγὼ συμμάχους μὲν ὑμῖν ἐποίησα
 Εὐβοίας,‡ Ἀχαιοὺς, Κορινθίους, Θηβαίους, Μεγα-
 ρίας, Λευκαδίους, Κερκυραίους, ἀφ' ὧν μύριοι μὲν
 καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι ξένοι, δισχίλιοι δ' ἱππεῖς ἄνευ

* μοιον.

† ἕκαστ' ἂν τύχοι.

‡ Εὐβοας.

τῶν πολιτικῶν δυνάμεων συνήχθησαν· χρημάτων δέ, ὅσων ἡδυνήθην ἐγώ, πλείστην συντέλειαν ἐποίησα.

Εἰ δὲ λέγεις ἢ τὰ πρὸς Θηβαίους δίκαια, Αἰσχίνη, ἢ τὰ πρὸς Βυζαντίους ἢ τὰ πρὸς Εὐβοέας, ἢ περὶ τῶν ἴσων νυνὶ διαλέγῃ, πρῶτον μὲν ἀγνοεῖς ὅτι καὶ πρότερον τῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκείνων ἀγωνισαμένων τριήρων,* τριακοσίαν οὐσῶν τῶν πασῶν, τὰς διακοσίας ἡ πόλις παρέσχετο, καὶ οὐκ ἐλαττοῦσθαι νομίζουσα οὐδὲ κρίνουσα τοὺς ταῦτα συμβουλευσάντας οὐδὲ ἀγανακτοῦσα ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔωρᾶτο (αἰσχυρὸν γάρ), ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἔχουσα χάριν, εἰ κοινοῦ κινδύνου† τοῖς Ἑλλησι περιστάντος αὐτῇ διπλάσια τῶν ἄλλων εἰς τὴν ἀπάντων σωτηρίαν παρέσχετο.‡ εἴτα κενάς γε χαρίζῃ χάριτας τούτοις συμφοραντῶν ἐμέ. τί γὰρ νῦν λέγεις οἷα ἐχρῆν πράττειν, ἀλλ' οὐ τότε ἂν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ παρὼν ταῦτ' ἐγγραφεις, εἴπερ ἐνεδέχετο παρὰ τοὺς παρόντας καιρούς, ἐν οἷς οὐχ ὅσα ἐβουλόμην ἀλλ' ὅσα δοίῃ τὰ πράγματ' εἶδει δέχεσθαι· ὁ γὰρ ἀντανούμενος καὶ ταχὺ τοὺς παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπελευνομένους προσδεξόμενος καὶ χρήματα προσθήσων ὑπῆρχεν ἔτοιμος.

Ἄλλ' εἰ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις κατηγορίας ἔχω, τί ἂν οἴεσθε, εἰ τότε ἔμοῦ περὶ τούτων ἀκριβολογουμένου, ἀπῆλθον αἱ πόλεις καὶ προσέθεντο

* τριηρῶν.

† πολεμον.

‡ παρασχοιτο.

Φιλίππῳ, καὶ ἅμα Εὐβοίας καὶ Θηβῶν καὶ Βυζαντίου κύριος κατέστη; τί ποιεῖν ἂν ἢ τί λέγειν τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς ἀνθρώπους τουτουσί; οὐχ ὥς ἐξεδόθησαν; οὐχ ὥς ἀπηλάθησαν βουλόμενοι μεθ' ἡμῶν εἶναι; εἴτα τοῦ μὲν Ἑλλησπόντου διὰ Βυζαντίων ἐγκρατὴς καθέστηκε,* καὶ τῆς σιτοπομπίας τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων κύριος [γέγονε], πόλεμος δ' ὁμορος καὶ βαρὺς εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν διὰ Θηβαίων πεκόμισται, ἅπλους δ' ἡ θάλαττα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὀρμωμένων ληστῶν γέγονεν; οὐκ ἂν ταῦτ' ἔλεγον, καὶ πολλὰ γε πρὸς τούτοις ἕτερα; πονηρόν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πονηρὸν ὁ συκοφάντης αἰὲ καὶ πανταχόθεν βάσκανον καὶ φιλαίτιον· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ φύσει κίναδος τῶνθρώπιόν ἐστιν, οὐδὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑγιὲς πεποιηκὸς οὐδ' ἐλεύθερον, αὐτοτραγικὸς πίθηκος, ἀρουραῖος Οἰνόμαος, παράσημος ῥήτωρ. τί γὰρ ἡ σὴ δεινότης εἰς ὄνησιν† ἤκει τῇ πατρίδι; νῦν ἡμῖν λέγεις περὶ‡ τῶν παρεληλυθότων; ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ἰατρὸς ἀσθενούσι μὲν τοῖς κάμνουσιν εἰσιῶν μὴ λέγοι μηδὲ δεικνύοι δι' ὧν ἀποφεύζονται τὴν νόσον, ἐπειδὴ δὲ τελευτήσκειέ τις αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα αὐτῷ φέροιτο, ἀκολουθῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μνήμα διεξίει “εἰ τὸ καὶ τὸ ἐποίησεν ἄνθρωπος οὐτοσί, οὐκ ἂν ἀπέθανεν.” ἐμβρόντητε, εἴτα νῦν λέγεις;

Οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ τὴν ἥτταν, εἰ ταύτῃ γαυριᾷς

* καθέστη.

† οκνησιν.

‡ ὑπερ.

ἐφ' ἧ στένειν σε ᾧ κατάρρατε προσῆκεν, ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν παρ' ἐμοῦ* γεγонуῖαν εὐρήσετε τῇ πόλει. οὕτως δὲ λογίζεσθε. οὐδαμοῦ πάποθ', ὅποι πρεσβευτῆς ἐπέμφθη† ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐγώ, ἡττηθεὶς ἀπῆλθον τῶν παρὰ Φιλίππου πρέσβεων, οὐκ ἐκ Θετταλίας, οὐκ ἐξ Ἀμβρακίας, οὐκ ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν, οὐ παρὰ τῶν Θρακῶν βασιλέων, οὐκ ἐκ Βυζαντίου, οὐκ ἄλλοθεν οὐδαμόθεν, οὐ τὰ τελευταῖα πρῶην ἐκ Θηβῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς κρατηθεῖεν οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτοῦ τῷ λόγῳ, ταῦτα τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐπιὼν κατεστρέφετο. ταῦτ' οὖν ἀπαιτεῖς παρ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ οὐκ αἰσχύνει τὸν αὐτὸν εἰς τε μαλακίαν σκώπτων καὶ τῆς Φιλίππου δυνάμεως ἀξιῶν ἕνα ὄντα κρείττω γενέσθαι; καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς λόγοις; τίνος γὰρ ἄλλου κύριος ἦν ἐγώ; οὐ γὰρ τῆς γε ἐκάστου ψυχῆς, οὐδὲ τῆς τύχης τῶν παραταξαμένων, οὐδὲ τῆς στρατηγίας, ἧς ἔμ' ἀπαιτεῖς εὐθύνας· οὕτω σκαιὸς εἶ. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὦν γ' ἂν ὁ ῥήτωρ ὑπεύθυνος εἴη, πᾶσαν ἐξέτασιν λάμβανε· οὐ παραιτοῦμαι. τίνα οὖν ἐστὶ ταῦτα; ἰδεῖν τὰ πράγματα ἀρχόμενα καὶ προαισθῆσθαι καὶ προειπεῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις. ταῦτα πέπρακταί μοι. καὶ ἔτι τὰς ἐκασταχοῦ βραδυτῆτας, ὅκνους, ἀγνοίας, φιλονεικίας, ἃ πολιτικὰ‡ ταῖς πόλεσι πρόσσεστιν ἀπάσαις καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἀμαρτήματα, ταῦθ' ὥς εἰς ἐλάχιστον συστεῖλαι, καὶ

* ἐμοι. † ἐξεπεμφθην. ‡ σινηλικά & πηλικά.

τοῦναντίον εἰς ὁμόνοιαν καὶ φιλίαν* καὶ τοῦ τὰ
 δέοντα ποιεῖν ὁρμὴν προτρέψαι. καὶ ταῦτά μοι
 πάντα πεποιήται, καὶ οὐδεὶς μήποθ' εὔρη τὸ κατ'
 ἐμέ οὐδὲν ἔλλειφθέν. εἰ τοίνυν τις ἔξοιτο ὄντινούν,
 τίσι τὰ πλεῖστα Φίλιππος ὧν κατέπραξε διωκή-
 σατο, πάντες ἂν εἴποιεν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ τῷ
 διδόναι καὶ† διαφθείρειν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων.
 οὐκοῦν τῶν μὲν δυνάμεων οὔτε κύριος οὔθ' ἡγεμὼν
 ἦν ἐγώ, ὥστε οὐδ' ὁ λόγος τῶν κατὰ ταῦτα πρα-
 χθέντων πρὸς ἐμέ. καὶ μὴν τῷ γε μὴ διαφθαρῆναι
 χρήμασιν κεκράτηκα Φιλίππου· ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ
 ἀνούμενος νενίκηκε τὸν λαβόντα, ἐὰν πρίηται, οὕτως
 ὁ μὴ λαβὼν μηδὲ διαφθαρεὶς νενίκηκε τὸν ἀνούμε-
 νον. ὥστε ἀήττητος ἡ πόλις τὸ κατ' ἐμέ.

Ἄ μὲν τοίνυν ἐγὼ παρυσχόμεν εἰς τὸ δικαίως
 τοιαῦτα γράφειν τουτονὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ, πρὸς πολλοῖς
 ἑτέροις ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις ἐστίν, ἃ
 δ' οἱ πάντες ὑμεῖς, ταῦτ' ἤδη λέξω.

Μετὰ γὰρ τὴν μάχην εὐθύς ὁ δῆμος, εἰδὼς καὶ
 ἰωρακῶς πάντα ὅσα ἔπραττον ἐγώ, ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς
 δεινοῖς καὶ φοβεροῖς ἐμβεβηκῶς, ἡνίκ' οὐδ' ἀγνω-
 μονῆσαί τι θαυμαστὸν ἦν τοὺς πολλοὺς πρὸς ἐμέ,
 πρῶτον μὲν περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως τὰς ἐμὰς
 γνώμας ἐχειροτόνει, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα τῆς φυλακῆς
 ἕνεκα ἐπράττετο, ἡ διάταξις τῶν φυλάκων, αἱ

* φιλίαν αγαγεῖν.

† καὶ τῷ.

τάφροι, τὰ εἰς τὰ τεῖχη χρήματα, διὰ τῶν ἐμῶν ψηφισμάτων ἐγίγνετο· ἔπειθ' αἰρούμενος σιτάνην ἐκ πάντων ἐμὲ ἐχειροτόνησεν ὁ δῆμος. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συστάντων οἷς ἦν ἐπιμελὲς κακῶς ἐμὲ ποιεῖν, καὶ γραφάς, εὐθύνας, εἰσαγγελίας, πάντα ταῦτ' ἐπαγόντων μοι, οὐδ' ἐαυτῶν τό γε πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ δι' ὧν μάλισθ' ὑπελάμβανον ἀγνοήσεσθαι (ἴστε γὰρ δήπου καὶ μέμνησθε ὅτι τοὺς πρώτους χρόνους κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην* ἐκρινόμην ἐγώ, καὶ οὐτ' ἀπόνοια Σωσικλέους οὔτε συκοφαντία Φιλοκράτους οὔτε Διωνῆδος καὶ Μελάντου† μανία οὐτ' ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ἀπεύρατον ἦν τούτοις κατ' ἐμοῦ), ἐν τοίνυν τούτοις πᾶσι μάλιστα μὲν διὰ τοὺς θεούς, δεύτερον δὲ δι' ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀθηναίους ἐσωζόμεν. δικαίως· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἀληθὲς ἐστὶ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὁμαμοκότων καὶ γνόντων‡ τὰ εὖορκα δικαστῶν. οὐκοῦν ἐν μὲν οἷς εἰσηγγελλόμεν, ὅτ' ἀπεψηφίζεσθε μοι καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων τοῖς διώκουσιν οὐ μετεδίδοτε, τότε ἐψηφίζεσθε τὰ ἄριστα με πράττειν· ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰς γραφάς ἀπέφευγον, ἔννομα καὶ γράφειν καὶ λέγειν ἀπεδεικνύμεν· ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰς εὐθύνας ἐπισημαίνεσθε, δικαίως καὶ ἀδωροδοκῆτως πάντα πεπραῆχθαί μοι προσωμολογεῖτε.

Τούτων οὖν οὕτως ἐχόντων τί προσῆκεν ἢ τί δίκαιον ἦν τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πεπραγμένοις θέσθαι τὸν

* καθ' ἐκάστην σχεδὸν ἡμέραν. † Μελανου. ‡ διαγνοιτων.

Κτησιφῶντα ὄνομα, οὐχ ὃ τὸν δῆμον ἑώρα τιθέμενον, οὐχ ὃ τοὺς ὁμωμοκότας δικαστάς, οὐχ ὃ τὴν ἀλήθειαν παρὰ πᾶσι βεβαιούσαν; Ναί, φησίν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλόν, τὸ μηδεμίαν γραφὴν φυγεῖν.* καὶ ἡ Δί' εὐδαιμόν γε. ἀλλὰ τί μᾶλλον ὁ πολλάκις μὲν φυγών, μηδεπώποτε δ' ἐξελεγχθεὶς ἀδικῶν ἐν ἐγκλήματι γίγνοιτ' ἂν διὰ τοῦτο δικαίως; καίτοι πρὸς γε τοῦτον, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλὸν εἰπεῖν ἔστι μοι. οὐδεμίαν γὰρ πώποτ' ἐγράψατό με οὐδ' ἐδίωξε γραφὴν, ὥστε ὑπὸ σοῦ γε ὁμολόγημαι μηδὲν εἶναι τοῦ Κεφάλου χεῖρων πολίτης.

Πολλαχόθεν μὲν τοίνυν ἂν τις ἴδοι τὴν ἀγνωμοσύνην αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν βασκανίαν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δ' ἀφ' ὧν περὶ τῆς τύχης διελέχθη. ἐγὼ δ' ὅλως μὲν, ὅστις ἄνθρωπος ὧν ἄνθρώπων τύχην προφέρει, † ἀνόητον ἡγοῦμαι· ἦν γὰρ ὁ βέλτιστα πράττειν νομίζων καὶ ἀρίστην ἔχειν οἰόμενος οὐκ οἶδεν, εἰ μενεῖ τοιαύτη μέχρι τῆς ἐσπέρας, πῶς χρὴ περὶ ταύτης λέγειν ἢ πῶς ὀνειδίζειν ἑτέρῳ; ἐπειδὴ δ' οὗτος πρὸς πολλοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ περὶ τούτων ὑπερηφάνως κέχρηται τῷ λόγῳ, σκέψασθ' ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ θεωρήσατε ὅσα καὶ ἀληθέστερον καὶ ἀνθρωπινώτερον ‡ ἐγὼ περὶ τῆς τύχης τούτου διαλεχθήσομαι. ἐγὼ τὴν μὲν τῆς πόλεως τύχην ἀγαθὴν ἡγοῦμαι, καὶ ταῦθ' ὁρῶ

* φυγών. † παντελὶς ἀνόητος καὶ ἀπαιδεύτος ἡγοῦμαι.

‡ δικαιότερον.

καὶ τὸν Δία τὸν Δωδωναῖον ἡμῖν καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω
τὸν Πύθιον μαντευόμενον, τὴν μέντοι τῶν πάντων
ἀνθρώπων, ἣ νῦν ἐπέχει, χαλεπὴν καὶ δεινὴν· τίς
γὰρ Ἑλλήνων ἢ τίς βαρβάρων οὐ πολλῶν κακῶν*
ἐν τῷ παρόντι† πεπείραται; τὸ μὲν τοίνυν προε-
λέσθαι τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ τὸ τῶν οἰηθέντων Ἑλλή-
νων, εἰ προεῖντο ἡμᾶς, ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ διάξειν, τούτων
αὐτῶν ἄμεινον πρᾶττειν τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης τῆς
πόλεως εἶναι τίθημι· τὸ δὲ προσκροῦσαι καὶ μὴ
πάνθ' ὡς ἡβουλόμεθ' ἡμῖν συμβῆναι τῆς τῶν ἄλλων
ἀνθρώπων τύχης τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς μέρος
μετεκληφέναι νομίζω τὴν πόλιν. τὴν δ' ἰδίαν τύχην
τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ τὴν ἐνὸς ἡμῶν ἐκάστου ἐν τοῖς ἰδίῃς
ἐξετάζειν δίκαιον εἶναι νομίζω. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὕτωςι
περὶ τῆς τύχης ἀξιῶ, ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως, ὡς ἐμαυτῷ
δοκῶ, νομίζω δὲ καὶ ὑμῖν [συνδοκεῖν]· ὁ δὲ τὴν
ἰδίαν τύχην τὴν ἐμὴν τῆς κοινῆς τῆς πόλεως κυριω-
τέραν εἶναί φησι, τὴν μικρὰν καὶ φαύλην τῆς
ἀγαθῆς καὶ μεγάλης. καὶ πῶς ἐν τοῦτο γενέσθαι;
Καὶ μὴν εἴγε τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην πάντως ἐξετάζειν,
Αἰσχίνη, προαιρεῖ, πρὸς τὴν σαυτοῦ σκόπει, καὶ
εὖρης τὴν ἐμὴν βελτίω τῆς σῆς, παῦσαι λοιδορού-
μενος αὐτῇ. σκόπει τοίνυν εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς. καὶ
μου πρὸς Δίῳ καὶ θεῶν μηδεμίαν ψυχρότητα‡
καταγνῶ μηδεῖς. ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐτ' εἰ τις πενίαν προ-

* ἀλλοίως καὶ μεγάλων. † παροῦσι καὶ. ‡ ἀσυχρότητα.

πληκίζει, ἰοῦν ἔχειν ἡγοῦμαι, οὐτ' εἴ τις ἐν ἀφρόνοισι τραφεὶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ σεμνύνεται· ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς τουτουῖ τοῦ χαλεποῦ βλασφημίας καὶ συκοφαντίας εἰς τοιούτους λόγους ἐμπίπτειν ἀναγκάζομαι, οἷς ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι μετρίωτατα χρῆσομαι.

Ἐμοὶ μὲν τοίνυν ὑπῆρξεν, Αἰσχίνη, παιδὶ μὲν ὄντι φοιτᾶν εἰς τὰ προσήκοντα διδασκαλεῖα, καὶ ἔχειν ὅσα χρὴ τὸν μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ποιήσοντα δι' ἐνδειαν, ἐξελθόντι δὲ ἐκ παίδων ἀκόλουθα τούτοις πράττειν, χορηγεῖν, τριηραρχεῖν, εἰσφέρειν, μηδεμίας φιλοτιμίας μήτε ἰδίας μήτε δημοσίας ἀπολείπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς φίλοις χρησίμον εἶναι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσελθεῖν* ἔδοξέ μοι, τοιαῦτα πολιτεύματα ἐλῆσθαι ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων πολλῶν πολλάκις ἐστεφανῶσθαι, καὶ μηδὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμᾶς, ὡς οὐ καλὰ γ' ἦν ἃ προειλόμην, ἐπιχειρεῖν λέγειν. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ τοιαύτη συμβεβίωκα τύχη, καὶ πόλλ' ἂν ἔχων ἕτερόν τι εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῆς παρὰ λέγω, φυλαττόμενος τὸ λυπῆσαί τινος ἐν οἷς σεμνύομαι.

Σὺ δ' ὁ σεμνὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ διαπτύων τοὺς ἄλλους σκόπει πρὸς ταύτην ποῖα† τινὶ κέχρησαι τύχη, δι' ἣν παῖς μὲν ἂν μετὰ πολλῆς ἐνδειας

* προσελθόν.

† ὅποια.

ἐτράφης, ἅμα τῷ πατρὶ πρὸς τῷ διδασκαλείῳ
προσεδρεύων, τὸ μέλαν τρίβων καὶ τὰ βάθρα
σπογγίζων καὶ τὸ παιδαγωγεῖον κορῶν, οἰκέτου
τάξιν, οὐκ ἐλευθέρου παιδὸς ἔχων, ἀνὴρ δὲ γενό-
μενος τῇ μητρὶ τελούσῃ τὰς βίβλους ἀνεγίγνωσκας
καὶ τᾶλλα συνεσκευωρῶν, τὴν μὲν νύκτα νεβρίζων*
καὶ κρατηρίζων καὶ καθαίρων τοὺς τελουμένους
καὶ ἀπομάτταν τῷ πηλῷ† καὶ τοῖς πιτύροις καὶ
ἀνιστάς‡ ἀπὸ τοῦ καθαρμοῦ καὶ κελεύων λέγειν
“ἔφυγον κακόν, εὖρον ἄμεινον,” ἐπὶ τῷ μηδένα
πάνποτε τηλικούτ’ ὀλολύξαι· σεμνυνόμενος (καὶ
ἔγωγε νομίζω· μὴ γὰρ οἶσθ’ αὐτὸν φθέγγεσθαι
μὲν οὕτω μέγα, ὀλολύζειν δ’ οὐχ ὑπέρλαμπρον), ἐν
δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις τοὺς καλοὺς θιάσους ἄγων διὰ τῶν
ὀδῶν, τοὺς ἐστεφανωμένους τῷ μαράθῳ καὶ τῇ
λεύκῃ, τοὺς ὄφεις τοὺς παρείας θλίβων καὶ ὑπὲρ
τῆς κεφαλῆς αἰωρῶν, καὶ βοῶν εὐοῖ σαβοῖ, καὶ
ἐπορχούμενος ὕψους ἄττης ἄττης ὕψους, ἔξαρχος καὶ
προηγεμὼν καὶ κιστοφόρος§ καὶ λικνοφόρος καὶ
τοιαῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν γραδίων προσαγορευόμενος, μισθὸν
λαμβάνων τούτων ἔνθρυπτα καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ
νεήλατα, ἐφ’ οἷς τίς οὐκ ἂν ὥς ἀληθῶς αὐτὸν εὐδαι-
μονίσειε καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τύχην; ἐπειδὴ δ’ εἰς τοὺς
δημότας ἐνεγράφης ὁπωσδήποτε, ἐγὼ γὰρ τοῦτό γε,
ἐπειδὴ δ’ οὖν ἐνεγράφης, εὐθέως τὸ κάλλιστον

* νεβρίζωι. † πηλῷ. ‡ ανιστας. § κισσοφορος & κιστοφορος.

ἐξελέξω τῶν ἔργων, γραμματεύειν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν τοῖς ἀρχιδίοις.* ὥς δ' ἀπηλλογῆς ποτὲ καὶ τούτου, πάνθ' ἃ τῶν ἄλλων κατηγορεῖς αὐτὸς ποιήσας, οὐ κατήσχυνας μὰ Δί' οὐδὲν τῶν προῖπηργμένων τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα βίῳ, ἀλλὰ μισθώσας σαυτὸν τοῖς βαρυπτόνοις ἐπικαλουμένοις ἐκείνοις ὑποκριταῖς. Σιμύλῳ† καὶ Σωκράτει, ἐτριταγωνίστεις, σῦκα καὶ βότρυς καὶ ἐλάας συλλέγων ὥσπερ ὀπωρώνης ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων χωρίων, πλείω λαμβάνων ἀπὸ τούτων [τραύματα] ἢ τῶν ἀγώνων, οὓς ὑμεῖς περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἠγωνίζεσθε· ἦν γὰρ ἄσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος ὑμῖν πρὸς τοὺς θεατὰς πόλεμος, ὑφ' ᾧ πολλὰ τραύματ' εἰληφῶς εἰκότως τοὺς ἀπείρους τῶν τοιούτων κινδύνων ὥς δειλοὺς σκώπτεις.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ παρεῖς ᾧ τὴν πενίαν αἰτιάσαιτ' ἄν τις, πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ τοῦ τρόπου σου βαδιοῦμαι κατηγορήματα. τοιαύτην γὰρ εἴλου πολιτείαν, ἐπειδὴ ποτε καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπῆλλέ σοι ποιῆσαι, δι' ἣν εὐτυχούσης μὲν τῆς πατρίδος λαγῶ βίον ἔζης δεδιῶς καὶ τρέμων καὶ ἀεὶ πληγῆσεσθαι προσδοκῶν ἐφ' οἷς σαυτῷ συνήδεις ἀδικοῦντι, ἐν οἷς δ' ἠτύχησαν οἱ ἄλλοι, θρασὺς ᾧν ὑφ' ἀπάντων ᾧψαι. καίτοι ὅστις χιλίων πολιτῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐθάρρῃσε, τί οὗτος παθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ζώντων δίκαιός ἐστιν; πολλὰ τοίνυν ἕτερ' εἰπεῖν ἔχων περὶ αὐτοῦ παραλείψω.‡ οὐ γὰρ ὅσ' ἔν

* ἀρχείοις.

† Σιμνκκα.

‡ παραλείπω.

δείξαιμι προσόντ' αἰσχρὰ τούτῳ καὶ ὀνείδη, πάντ' οἶμαι δεῖν εὐχερῶς λέγειν, ἀλλ' ὅσα μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ἐμοί. Ἐξέτασον τοίνυν παρ' ἄλληλα τὰ σοὶ κἀμοὶ βεβιωμένα, πράως καὶ μὴ πικρῶς, Αἰσχίνῃ· εἴτ' ἐρώτησον τουτουσὶ τὴν ποτέρου τύχην ἂν ἔλοιθ' ἕκαστος αὐτῶν. ἐδίδασκες γράμματα, ἐγὼ δ' ἐφοίτων. ἐτέλεις, ἐγὼ δ' ἐτελούμην. ἐχόρευες, ἐγὼ δ' ἐχορήγουν. ἐγραμμάτευες, ἐγὼ δ' ἠκκλησιάζον. ἐτριταγωνίστεις, ἐγὼ δ' ἐθεώρουν. ἐξέπιπτες, ἐγὼ δ' ἐσύριττον. ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πεπολιτευσαι πάντα, ἐγὼ δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. ἐῷ τᾶλλα, ἀλλὰ νυνὶ τήμερον ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ στεφανωθῆναι δοκιμάζομαι, τὸ δὲ μηδ' ὀτιοῦν ἀδικεῖν ἀνωμολόγημαι, σοὶ δὲ συκοφάντῃ μὲν εἶναι δοκεῖν ὑπάρχει, κινδυνεύεις δὲ εἴτε δεῖ σ' ἔτι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, εἴτ' ἤδη πεπαῦσθαι μὴ μεταλαβόντα τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων. ἀγαθῇ γε,* οὐχ ὀρᾶς; τύχῃ συμβεβιωκὼς τῆς ἐμῆς ὡς φαύλης κατηγορεῖς. Φέρε δὴ καὶ τὰς τῶν λειτουργιῶν μαρτυρίας, ὧν λελειτούργηκα, ὑμῖν ἀναγνῶ. παρ' ἃς παρανάγνωθι καὶ σύ μοι τὰς ῥήσεις ἃς ἐλυμαίνου,†

ἤκω λιπὼν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκότου πύλας,
καὶ

κακαγγελεῖν μὲν ἴσθι μὴ θέλοντά με,
καὶ κακὸν κακῶς σε μάλιστα μὲν οἱ θεοί, ἔπειτα

* δε.

† ελυμήνω.

οὗτοι πάντες ἀπολέσειαν, πονηρὸν ὄντα καὶ πολίτην καὶ τριταγωνιστήν.

Λέγε τὰς μαρτυρίας.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑΙ.

Ἐν μὲν τοίνυν τοῖς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τοιοῦτος* ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἰδίοις εἰ μὴ πάντες ἴστε ὅτι κοινὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος καὶ † τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπαρκῶν, σιωπῶ καὶ οὐδὲν ἂν εἴποιμι οὐδὲ παρασχοίμην περὶ τούτων οὐδεμίαν μαρτυρίαν, οὔτ' εἴ τινας ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλυσάμην, οὔτ' εἴ τισι θυγατέρας‡ συνεξέδωκα, οὔτε τῶν τοιούτων οὐδέν. καὶ γὰρ οὕτω πως ὑπέιληφα. ἐγὼ νομίζω τὸν μὲν εὖ παθόντα δεῖν μεμνήσθαι τὸν πάντα χρόνον, τὸν δὲ § ποιήσαντα εὐθὺς ἐπιλελῆσθαι, εἰ δεῖ τὸν μὲν χρηστοῦ, τὸν δὲ μὴ μικροψύχου ποιεῖν ἔργον ἀνθρώπου. τὸ δὲ τὰς ἰδίας εὐεργεσίας ὑπομιμνήσκειν καὶ λέγειν μικροῦ δεῖν ὁμοίον ἐστὶ τῷ ὀνειδίζειν. οὐ δὴ ποιήσω τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, οὐδὲ προαχθήσομαι, ἀλλ' ὅπως ποθ' ὑπέιλημμαι περὶ τούτων, ἀρκεῖ μοι.

Βούλομαι δὲ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπαλλαγεῖς ἔτι μικρὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν κοινῶν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἔχεις, Αἰσχίνη, τῶν ὑπὸ τουτονὶ τὸν ἥλιον εἰπεῖν ἀνθρώπων ὅστις ἀθῶος τῆς Φιλίππου πρότερον καὶ νῦν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου δυναστείας γέγονεν, ἢ τῶν

* τοιοῦτος ἐγὼ. † πασι τοῖς. ‡ ἀπορουσι συνεξέδωκα. § δ' ἐν.

Ἑλλήνων ἢ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἔστω, συγχωρῶ σοι τὴν ἐμὴν εἴτε τύχην εἴτε δυστυχίαν ὀνομάζειν βούλει πάντων αἰτίαν γεγενῆσθαι. εἰ δὲ καὶ τῶν μηδεπώποτ' ἰδόντων ἐμὲ μηδὲ Φωνὴν ἀκηκούτων ἐμοῦ πολλοὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πεπόνθασι, μὴ μόνον κατ' ἄνδρα ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις ὅλαι καὶ ἔθνη, πόσω δικαιότερον καὶ ἀληθέστερον τὴν ἀπάντων, ὥς ἔοικεν, ἀνθρώπων τύχην κοινὴν καὶ φορὰν τινα πραγμάτων χαλεπὴν καὶ εὐχ οἷαν ἔδει τούτων αἰτίαν ἡγεῖσθαι. σὺ τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἀφείς ἐμὲ τὸν παρὰ τοιτοισὶ πεπολιτευμένον* αἰτιᾶ, καὶ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς ὅτι, καὶ εἰ μὴ τὸ ὅλον,† μέρος γ' ἐπιβάλλει τῆς βλασφημίας ἅπασι, καὶ μάλιστα σοί. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν αὐτοκράτωρ ὢν περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐβουλευόμην, ἦν ἂν τοῖς ἄλλοις ῥήτορσιν ὑμῖν ἐμὲ αἰτιᾶσθαι· εἰ δὲ παρῆτε μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀπάσαις αἰεί, ἐν κοινῷ δὲ τὸ συμφέρον ἢ πόλις προϋτίθει σκοπεῖν, πᾶσι δὲ ταῦτ' ἐδόκει τότ' ἄριστ' εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστα σοί (οὐ γὰρ ἐκ' εὐνοίας γ' ἐμοὶ παρεχώρεις ἐλπίδων καὶ ζήλου καὶ τιμῶν, ἀ πάντα προσῆν τοῖς τότε πραττομένοις ἐκ' ἐμοῦ, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἠττώμενος δηλονότι καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἔχειν εἰπεῖν βέλτιον), πῶς οὐκ ἀδικεῖς καὶ δεινὰ ποιεῖς τούτοις νῦν ἐγκαλῶν, ὢν τότ' οὐκ εἴχες λέγειν βελτίω;

* τοιτοισι πολιτευόμενον.

† μὴ καὶ ὅλον.

Παρά μὲν τοίνυν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔγωγ' ὁρῶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις διωρισμένα καὶ τεταγμένα πως τὰ τοιαῦτα. ἀδικεῖ τις ἐκῶν; ὀργή* καὶ τιμωρία† κατὰ τούτου. ἐξήμαρτέ τις ἄκων; συγγνώμη‡ ἀντὶ τῆς τιμωρίας τούτου. οὐτ' ἀδικῶν τις οὐτ' ἐξαμαρτάνων, εἰς τὰ πᾶσι δοκοῦντα συμφέρειν ἑαυτὸν δοῦς οὐ κατάρθωσε μεθ' ἀπάντων; οὐκ ὀνειδίζειν οὐδὲ λοιδορεῖσθαι τῷ τοιούτῳ δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ συνάχθαι. φανήσεται τοίνυν ταῦτα πάντα οὕτως οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς νομίμοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ φύσις αὐτὴ τοῖς ἀγράφοις νόμοις§ καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώπινοις ἥθεσι διώρεικεν. Αἰσχίνης τοίνυν τοσοῦτον ὑπερβίβληκεν ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους ὁμότητι καὶ συκοφαντία, ὥστε καὶ ᾧ αὐτὸς ὡς ἀτυχημάτων ἐμέμνητο, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖ. Καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἀπλῶς καὶ μετ' εὐνοίας πάντας εἰρηκῶς τοὺς λόγους, φυλάττειν ἐμὲ καὶ τηρεῖν ἐκέλευεν, ὅπως μὴ παρακρούσομαι μηδ' ἐξαπατήσω, δεινὸν καὶ γόητα καὶ σοφιστὴν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτ' ὀνομάζων, ὡς ἂν πρότερός τις εἶπη τὰ προσόνθ' ἑαυτῷ περὶ ἄλλου, καὶ δὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχοντα, καὶ οὐκέτι τοὺς ἀκούοντας σκεψομένους τίς ποτ' αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ταῦτα λέγων. ἐγὼ δ' οἶδ' ὅτι γιγνώσκετε τοῦτον ἅπαντες, καὶ πολὺ τούτῳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμοὶ νομίζετε ταῦτα προσ-

* ὀργη.

† τιμωριαν.

‡ συγγνωμην.

§ νομιμοις.

εἶναι. καὶ κεῖνο δ' εὖ οἶδ', ὅτι τὴν ἐμὴν δεινότητα — ἔστω γάρ. καίτοι ἔγωγ' ὄρω τῆς τῶν λεγόντων δυνάμεως τοὺς ἀκούοντας τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος κυρίους ὄντας· ὡς γὰρ ἂν ὑμεῖς ἀποδέξησθε καὶ πρὸς ἑκαστον ἔχητ' εὐνοίας, οὕτως ὁ λέγων ἔδοξε φρονεῖν. εἰ δ' οὖν ἐστὶ καὶ παρ' ἐμοί τις ἐμπειρία τοιαύτη, ταύτην μὲν εὐρήσετε πάντες ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς ἐξεταζομένην ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αἰεὶ καὶ οὐδαμοῦ καθ' ὑμῶν οὐδ' ἰδίᾳ, τὴν δὲ τούτου τούναντίον οὐ μόνον τῷ λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τις ἐλύπησέ τι τοῦτον ἢ προσέκρουσέ που, κατὰ τούτων. οὐ γὰρ αὐτῇ δικαίως, οὐδ' ἐφ' ἧ συμφέρει τῇ πόλει, χρῆται. οὔτε γὰρ τὴν ὀργὴν οὔτε τὴν ἔχθραν οὐτ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν τῶν τοιούτων τὸν καλὸν καγαθὸν πολίτην δεῖ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν εἰσεληλυθότας δικαστὰς ἀξιῶν αὐτῷ βεβαιῶν, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ τούτων εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσιέναι, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν μὴ ἔχειν ταῦτ' ἐν τῇ φύσει, εἰ δ' ἄρ' ἀνάγκη, πρῶως καὶ μετρίως διακείμεν' ἔχειν.

Ἐν τίσιν οὖν σφοδρὸν εἶναι τὸν πολιτευόμενον καὶ τὸν ῥήτορα δεῖ; ἐν οἷς τῶν ὅλων τι κινδυνεύεται τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐν οἷς πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐστὶ * τῷ δήμῳ, ἐν τούτοις· ταῦτα γὰρ † γενναίου καὶ ἀγαθοῦ πολίτου. μηδενὸς δὲ ἀδικήματος πώποτε δημοσίου, προσθήσω δὲ μηδ' ἰδίου, δίκην ἀξιῶσαντα λαβεῖν

* ἐστὶ τι.

† γὰρ ἐστὶ.

παρ' ἐμοῦ μήθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως μήθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, στεφάνου καὶ ἐπαίνου κατηγορεῖαν νῦν ἤκειν συνεσκευασμένον, καὶ τοσούτους λόγους ἀνηλωκέναι ἰδίας ἔχθρας καὶ φθόνου καὶ μικροψυχίας ἐστὶ σημεῖον, οὐδεὶς χρηστοῦ. τὸ δὲ δὴ καὶ τοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ αὐτὸν ἀγῶνας ἐάσαντα νῦν ἐπὶ τόνδ' ἤκειν πᾶσαν ἔχει κακίαν.

Καί μοι δοκεῖς ἐκ τούτων, Αἰσχίνη, λόγων ἐπιδείξιν τινα καὶ φανασκίας βουλόμενος ποιήσασθαι τοῦτον προελέσθαι τὸν ἀγῶνα, οὐκ ἀδικήματος οὐδεὶς λαβεῖν τιμωρίαν. ἔστι δ' οὐχ ὁ λόγος τοῦ ῥήτορος, Αἰσχίνη, τίμιον,* οὐδ' ὁ τόπος τῆς φωνῆς, ἀλλὰ τὸ ταῦτά προαιρεῖσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ τὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς † μισεῖν καὶ φιλεῖν οὔσπερ ἂν ἡ πατρίς. ὁ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχων τὴν ψυχὴν, οὗτος ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ πάντ' ἐρεῖ· ὁ δ' ἀφ' ᾧ ἡ πόλις προορᾶται τινα κίνδυνον ἑαυτῇ, τούτους θεραπεύων οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὁρμῇ τοῖς πολλοῖς, οὔκουν οὐδὲ τῆς ἀσφαλείας τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει προσδοκίαν. ἀλλ', ὁρᾷς; ἐγώ· ταῦτά γὰρ συμφέροισθ' εἰλόμην τουτοισί, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐξαίρετον οὐδ' ἴδιον πεποίημαι. ἄρ' οὖν οὐδὲ σύ; καὶ πῶς; ὅς εὐθέως μετὰ τὴν μάχην πρεσβευτὴς ἐπορεύου πρὸς Φίλιππον, ὅς ἦν τῶν ἐν ἐκείνοις ταῖς χρόνοις συμφορῶν αἴτιος τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ ταῦτ' ἀριούμενος πάντα τὸν ἔμπροσθε χρόνον ταύτην τὴν

* κυριος.

† τοὺς ἐχθροὺς.

χρεῖαν, ὡς πάντες ἴσασιν. καὶ τοι τίς ὁ τὴν πόλιν
 ἔξαπατῶν; οὐχ ὁ μὴ λέγων ἅ φρονεῖ; τῷ δ' ὁ
 κῆρυξ καταρᾶται* δικαίως; οὐ τῷ τοιούτῳ; τί δὲ
 μείζον ἔχοι τις ἂν εἰπεῖν ἀδίκημα κατ' ἀνδρὺς
 ῥήτορος ἢ εἰ μὴ ταῦτά φρονεῖ καὶ λέγει; σὺ τοίνυν
 οὗτος εὐρέθης. εἴτα σὺ φθέγγῃ καὶ βλέπειν εἰς τὰ
 τουτῶνι πρόσωπα τολμᾷς; πότερ' οὐχ ἡγεῖ γι-
 γνώσκειν αὐτοὺς ὅστις εἶ; ἢ τοσοῦτον ὕπνον καὶ
 λήθην ἅπαντας ἔχειν, ὥστ' οὐ μεμνησθαι τοὺς
 λόγους οὓς ἐδημηγόρεις ἐν τῷ δήμῳ,† καταρῶμενος
 καὶ διομνύμενος μηδὲν εἶναι σοὶ καὶ Φιλίππῳ
 πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ' ἐμὲ τὴν αἰτίαν σοι ταύτην ἐπάγειν
 τῆς ἰδίας ἑνεκ' ἔχθρας, οὐκ οὔσαν ἀληθῆ. ὡς δ'
 ἀπηγγέλθη τάχισθ' ἡ μάχη, οὐδὲν τούτων φρον-
 τίσας εὐθύς ὠμολόγεις καὶ προσεποιοῦ Φιλίαν, καὶ
 ξενίαν εἶναί σοι πρὸς αὐτόν, τῇ μισθαργίᾳ ταῦτα
 μετατιθέμενος τὰ ὀνόματα· ἐκ ποίας γὰρ ἴσης ἢ
 δικαίας προφάσεως Αἰσχίνῃ τῷ Γλαυκοθέας τῆς
 τυμπανιστρίας ξένος ἢ φίλος ἢ γνώριμος ἦν Φίλιπ-
 πος; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐχ ὄρῳ, ἀλλ' ἐμισθώθης ἐπὶ τῷ τὰ
 τουτῶνι συμφέροντα διαφθείρειν. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕτω
 φανερῶς αὐτὸς‡ εἰλημμένος προδότης καὶ κατὰ
 σαυτοῦ μηνυτὴς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβᾶσι γεγονὼς ἐμοὶ
 λοιδορεῖ καὶ ὀνειδίζει ταῦτα, ὧν πάντας μᾶλλον
 αἰτίους εὐρήσεις.

* καταρᾶται καθ' ἑκάστης ἐκκλησίας. † πολέμῳ. ‡ αἰτίαι.

Πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἡ πόλις, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ προείλετο καὶ κατάρθωσε δι' ἐμοῦ, ὧν οὐκ ἡμνημόνησεν. σημεῖον δέ· χειροτονῶν γὰρ ὁ δῆμος τὸν ἐροῦντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ συμβάντα οὐ σὲ ἐχειροτόνησε προβληθέντα, καίπερ εὖφωρον ὄντα, οὐδὲ Δημάδην, ἄρτι πεποιηκότα τὴν εἰρήνην, οὐδ' Ἡγήμονα, οὐδ' ἄλλον ὑμῶν οὐδένα, ἀλλ' ἐμέ. καὶ παρελθόντος σοῦ καὶ Πυθοκλέους ὁμῶς καὶ ἀναιδῶς, ὧ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί, καὶ κατηγορούντων ἐμοῦ ταῦτα ἅ καὶ σὺ νυνὶ, καὶ λοιδορουμένων, ἔτ' ἄμεινον* ἐχειροτόνησεν ἐμέ. τὸ δ' αἴτιον οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς μὲν, ὅμως δὲ φράσω σοι καὶ γὰρ. ἀμφοτέρ' ἤδεσαν οὗτοι, τὴν τ' ἐμὴν εὐνοίαν καὶ προθυμίαν, μεθ' ἧς τὰ πράγματα ἔπραττον, καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀδικίαν· ἃ γὰρ εὐθηνούντων† τῶν πραγμάτων ἡρενεῖσθε διομνύμενοι, ταῦτ' ἐν οἷς ἔπταισεν ἡ πόλις ὁμολογήσατε. τοὺς οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀτυχήμασιν ὧν ἐφρόνουν λαβόντας ἄδειαν ἐχθροὺς μὲν πάλαι, φανεροὺς δὲ τόθ' ἡγήσαντο αὐτοῖς γεγενῆσθαι. εἴτα καὶ προσήκειν ὑπελάμβανον τὸν ἐροῦντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρετὴν κοσμήσοντα μήθ' ὁμωρόφιον μήθ' ὁμόσπονδον γεγενημένον εἶναι τοῖς πρὸς ἐκείνους παραταξαμένοις, μηδ' ἐκεῖ μὲν κωμάζειν καὶ παιωνίζειν‡ ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμφοραῖς μετὰ τῶν αὐτοχείρων τοῦ φόνου, δεῦρο δ' ἐλθόντα τιμᾶ-

* ἐτι μαλλον.

† ευθηνούντων.

‡ παιωνίζειν.

σθαι, μηδὲ τῇ φωνῇ δακρύειν ὑποκρινόμενον τὴν
 ἐκείνων τύχην, ἀλλὰ τῇ ψυχῇ συναλγεῖν. τοῦτο
 δ' εἴρων παρ' ἑαυτοῖς καὶ παρ' ἑμοί, παρὰ δ' ὑμῖν
 οὐ. διὰ ταῦτ' ἐμὲ ἐχειροτόνησαν καὶ οὐχ ὑμᾶς.
 καὶ οὐχ ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὕτως, οἱ δὲ τῶν τετελευτη-
 κότων πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τόθ'
 αἰρεθέντες ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς ἄλλως πως, ἀλλὰ δέον
 ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς τὸ περιδείπνον ὡς παρ' οἰκειοτάτῃ
 τῶν τετελευτηκότων, ὥσπερ τᾶλλ' εἶωθε γίγνεσθαι,
 τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν παρ' ἑμοί· εἰκότως· γένει μὲν γὰρ
 ἕκαστος ἐκάστῳ μᾶλλον οἰκεῖος ἢν ἑμοῦ, κοινῇ δὲ
 πᾶσιν οὐδεὶς ἐγγυτέρῳ ὧ γὰρ ἐκείνους σωθῆναι
 καὶ κατορθῶσαι μάλιστα διέφερον, οὗτος καὶ πα-
 θόντων ἂ μῆποτ' ὄφελον τῆς ὑπὲρ πάντων λύπης
 πλείστον μετεῖχεν. Λέγε δ' αὐτῷ τουτὶ τὸ ἐπί-
 γραμμα, ὃ δημοσίᾳ προείλετο ἢ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐπι-
 γράφαι, ἢν εἰδῆς, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ
 σαυτὸν ἀγνώμονα καὶ συκοφάντην ὄντα καὶ μιᾶρόν.
 Λέγε.

ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ.

Οἷδε πάτρας ἔνεκα σφετέρας εἰς δῆριν† ἔθεντο
 ὅπλα, καὶ ἀντιπάλων ὕβριν ἀπισκέδασαν.
 μαρνάμενοι δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ δείματος‡ οὐκ ἐσάωσαν
 ψυχάς, ἀλλ' Ἀἴδην κοινὸν ἔθεντο βράβην,

* ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀποθανοῦσιν ἐστίας γινόμενον περιδείπνον.

† μαχὴν.

‡ δειγματος & ληματος.

οὐνεκεν Ἑλλήνων, ὡς μὴ ζυγὸν αὐχένι θέντες
 δουλοσύνης στυγεράν ἀμφὶς ἔχουσιν ὕβριν.
 γαῖα δὲ πατρὶς ἔχει κόλποις τῶν πλεῖστα καμόντων
 σώματ', ἐπεὶ θνητοῖς ἐκ Διὸς ἦδε κρίσις.
 μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν ἐστὶ θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορθεῖν
 ἐν βιοτῇ, μοῖραν δ' οὐ τι φυγεῖν ἔπορεν.*

Ἀκούεις, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ, ὡς τὸ μηδὲν
 ἀμαρτεῖν ἐστὶ θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορθεῖν; οὐ τῷ
 συμβούλῳ τὴν τοῦ κατορθεῖν τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους
 ἀνέθηκε δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς. τί οὖν, ὦ κατάρ-
 ρατ', ἐμοὶ περὶ τούτων λοιδορεῖ, καὶ λέγεις ἅ σοι
 καὶ τοῖς σοῖς οἱ θεοὶ τρέφειαν εἰς κεφαλὴν;

Πολλὰ τοίνυν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ἄλλα
 κατηγορηκóτος† αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεψευσμένου,‡ ἐν
 μάλιστα ἑθαύμασα πάντων, ὅτι τῶν συμβεβηκότων
 τότε τῇ πόλει μνησθεῖς§ οὐχ ὡς ἂν εὖνους καὶ δί-
 καιος πολίτης ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην, οὐδ' ἐδάκρυσεν,
 οὐδ' ἔπαθε τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν τῇ ψυχῇ, ἀλλ' ἐπάρας
 τὴν φωνὴν καὶ γεγηθὼς καὶ λαρυγγίζων|| ἤετο μὲν
 ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖν δηλονότι, δεῖγμα δ' ἐξέφερε καθ'
 ἑαυτοῦ ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἀνισαροῖς οὐδὲν
 ὁμοίως ἔσχε τοῖς ἄλλοις. καίτοι τὸν τῶν νόμων
 καὶ τῆς πολιτείας φάσκοντα φροντίζειν, ὥσπερ
 οὗτος νυνί, καὶ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, τοῦτό γ' ἔχειν δεῖ,

* ἕτερον. † κατηγορουντος. ‡ κατεψευσαμενου.
 § αναμνησθεῖς. || λαρυγγίζων. X 2

ταῦτά λυπεῖσθαι καὶ ταῦτά χαίρειν τοῖς πολλοῖς, καὶ μὴ τῇ προαιρέσει τῶν κοινῶν ἐν τῷ τῶν ἐναντίων μέρει τετάχθαι. ὃ σὺ νυνὶ πεποιηκὼς εἶ φανερός, ἐμὲ πάντων αἴτιον καὶ δι' ἐμὲ εἰς πράγματα φάσκων ἐμπεσεῖν τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμῆς πολιτείας οὐδὲ προαιρέσεως ἀρξαμένων ὑμῶν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι βοηθεῖν, ἐπεὶ ἔμοιγ' εἰ τοῦτο δοθείη* παρ' ὑμῶν, δι' ἐμὲ ὑμᾶς ἠναντιῶσθαι τῇ κατὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῇ πραττομένῃ, μείζων† ἂν δοθείη δωρεὰ συμπασῶν ἂν τοῖς ἄλλοις δεδώκατε. ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἂν ἐγὼ ταῦτα φῆσαιμι (ἀδικοῖν γὰρ ἂν ὑμᾶς), οὐτ' ἂν ὑμεῖς εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι συγχωρήσαιτε· οὗτός τ' εἰ δίκαια ἐποίει, οὐκ ἂν ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔχθρας τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ὑμετέων καλῶν ἐβλαπτε καὶ διέβαλλεν.

Ἀλλὰ τί ταῦτ' ἐπιτιμῶ, πολλῷ σχετλιώτερον ἄλλα κατηγορηκότος αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεψευσμένου; ὅς γὰρ ἐμοῦ Φιλιππισμόν, ὃ γῇ καὶ θεοί, κατηγορεῖ, τί οὗτος οὐκ ἂν εἴποι; καίτοι νῆ τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ πάντας θεούς, εἴγ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας δέοι σκοπεῖσθαι,‡ τὸ καταψεύδεσθαι, καὶ δι' ἔχθραν τι λέγει ἀνελόντας ἐκ μίσου, τίνες ὡς ἀληθῶς εἰσὶν οἷς ἂν εἰκότως καὶ δικαίως τὴν τῶν γεγενημένων αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀναθεῖεν ἅπαντες, τοὺς ὁμοίους τούτῳ παρ' ἐκάστη τῶν πόλεων εὗροι τις ἂν,§ οὐχὶ τοὺς ἐμοί· οἷ, ὅτ' ἦν ἀσβειῇ τὰ Φιλίππου πράγ-

* δοεῖν δωρεά. † κρείττων. ‡ σκοπεῖν. § εἴροιστ' αὐ.

ματα καὶ κομιδῇ μικρά, πολλάκις προλεγόντων
 ἡμῶν καὶ παρακαλούντων καὶ διδασκόντων τὰ
 βέλτιστα, τῆς ἰδίας ἐνεκ' αἰσχροπερδείας τὰ καινῇ
 συμφέροντα προΐεντο, τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας ἕκαστοι
 πολίτας ἐξαπατῶντες καὶ διαφθείροντες, ἕως δού-
 λους ἐποίησαν, Θετταλοὺς Δάοχος, Κινέας, Θρα-
 σύλαος, Ἀρκάδας Κερκιδᾶς, Ἰερώνυμος, Εὐκαμ-
 πίδας,* Ἀργεῖους Μύρτις, Τελέδαμος,† Μνασέας,
 Ἡλείους Εὐξίθεος, Κλεότιμος, Ἀρίσταιχος, Μεσ-
 σηνίους οἱ Φιλιάδου τοῦ θεοῖς ἐχθροῦ παῖδες Νέων
 καὶ Θρασύλοχος, Σικυνίους Ἀρίστρατος, Ἐπι-
 χάξης, Κορινθίους Δείναρχος, Δημάρατος, Με-
 γαρέας Πτοιόδωρος, Ἐλιξος, Περίλαος, Θη/βαίους
 Τιμόλας, Θεογείτων, Ἀνεμοίτας, Εὐβοέας‡ Ἰπ-
 παρχος, Κλείταρχος, Σωσίστρατος. ἐπιλείψει με-
 λέγοντα ἢ ἡμέρα τὰ τῶν προδοτῶν ὀνόματα. οὗτοι
 πάντες εἰσὶν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευ-
 μάτων ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν πατρίσιν ὥνπερ οὗτοι παρ'
 ὑμῖν, ἄνθρωποι μιαιοὶ καὶ κόλακες καὶ ἀλάστορες,
 ἠκρωτηριασμένοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι πατρίδας,
 τὴν ἐλευθερίαν προπεπωκότες πρότερον μὲν Φιλίππῳ
 νῦν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, τῇ γαστρὶ μετροῦντες καὶ τοῖς
 αἰσχίστοις τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, τὴν δ' ἐλευθερίαν καὶ
 τὸ μηδένα ἔχειν δεσπότην αὐτῶν, ἃ τοῖς προτέροις

* Εὐκαλπίδας.

† Τελαδαμος.

‡ Εὐβοᾶς.

"Ελλησιν ὅροι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἦσαν καὶ κανόνες, ἀνα-
τετραφότες.*

Ταύτης τοίνυν τῆς οὕτως αἰσχυρᾶς καὶ περιβοή-
του συστάσεως καὶ κακίας, μᾶλλον δ' ὧ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι προδοσίας, εἰ δεῖ μὴ ληρεῖν, τῆς τῶν
Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας, ἣ τε πόλις παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀν-
θρώποις ἀναίτιος γέγονεν ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν πολιτευμά-
των καὶ ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν. εἰτά μ' ἐρωτᾷς ἀντί-
ποίας ἀρετῆς ἀξιώ τιμαῖσθαι; ἐγὼ δὴ σοι λέγω,
ὅτι τῶν πολιτευομένων παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι διαφθα-
ρέντων ἀπάντων, ἀρξαμένων ἀπὸ σοῦ, πρότερον μὲν
ὑπὸ Φιλίππου νῦν δ' ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἐμὲ οὔτε
καιρὸς οὔτε φιλάνθρωπία λόγων οὔτ' ἐπαγγελιῶν
μέγεθος οὔτ' ἐλπίς οὔτε φόβος οὔτ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν
ἐπῆρεν οὐδὲ προηγάγετο ὧν ἔκρινα δικαίων καὶ
συμφερόντων τῇ πατρίδι οὐδὲν προδοῦναι, οὐδ', ὅσα
συμβεβούλευκα πάποτε τοιτοῖσί, ὁμοίως ὑμῖν
ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ ἐν† τρυτάνῃ ρέπων ἐπὶ τὸ λῆμμα συμ-
βεβούλευκα, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας καὶ
ἀδιαφθόρου τῆς ψυχῆς τὰ πάντα μοι πέπρακται,
καὶ μεγίστων δὲ πραγμάτων τῶν κατ' ἐμαυτὸν
ἀνθρώπων προστὰς πάντα ταῦτα ὑγιῶς καὶ δικαίως‡
πεπολίτευμαι. διὰ ταῦτ' ἀξιώ τιμαῖσθαι.

Τὸν δὲ τειχισμὸν τοῦτον, ὃν σύ μου δέισυρες, καὶ

* ἀνατετροφοτες.

† ὥσπερ εν.

‡ δικαίως καὶ ἀπλως.

τὴν ταφρείαν ἄξια μὲν χάριτος καὶ ἐπαίνου κρίνω, πῶς γὰρ οὐ; πόρρω μέντοι πού τῶν ἑμαυτῷ πεπολιτευμένων τίθεμαι. οὐ λίθοις ἐτείχισα τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲ πλίνθοις ἐγώ, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τούτοις μέγιστον τῶν ἑμαυτοῦ φρονῶ· ἀλλ' ἐὰν τὸν ἐμὸν τειχισμὸν βούλῃ δικαίως σκοπεῖν, εὐρήσεις ὅπλα καὶ πόλεις καὶ τόπους καὶ λιμένας καὶ ναῦς καὶ [πολλοὺς] ἵππους καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀμυνουμένους· ταῦτα προὔβαλόμεν* ἐγὼ πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅσον ἦν ἀνθρώπινῳ λογισμῷ δυνατόν, καὶ τούτοις ἐτείχισα τὴν χώραν, οὐχὶ τὸν κύκλον† τοῦ Πειραιῶς οὐδὲ τοῦ ἄστεος. οὐδέ γ' ἡττήθην ἐγὼ τοῖς λογισμοῖς Φιλίππου, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, οὐδὲ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, ἀλλ' οἱ τῶν συμμάχων στρατηγοὶ καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις τῇ τύχῃ. τίνες αἱ τούτων ἀποδείξεις; ἐναργεῖς καὶ φανεραί. σκοπεῖτε δέ. Τί χρῆν τὸν εὖνουν πολίτην ποιεῖν, τί τὸν μετὰ πάσης προνοίας καὶ προθυμίας‡ καὶ δικαιοσύνης ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος πολιτευόμενον; οὐκ ἐκ μὲν θαλάττης τὴν Εὐβοίαν προβαλέσθαι πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἐκ δὲ τῆς μεσογείας τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πρὸς Πελοπόννησόν τόπων τοὺς ὁμόρους ταύτη; οὐ τὴν σιτοπομπίαν, ὅπως παρὰ πᾶσαν φιλίαν ἄχρι τοῦ Πειραιῶς κομισθῇσεται, προῖδέσθαι; καὶ τὰ μὲν σῶσαι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐκπέμποντα βοη-

* προυλαβομεν.

† τῇ κυκλῳ.

‡ φιλοτιμίας.

θείας, καὶ λέγοντα καὶ γράφοντα τοιαῦτα, τὴν Προ-
κόννησον, τὴν Χερρόνησον, τὴν Τένεδον, τὰ δ' ὅπως
οἰκεῖα καὶ σύμμαχ' ὑπάρξει πρᾶξαι, τὸ Βυζάντιον,
τὴν Ἀβυδον, τὴν Εὐβοιαί; καὶ τῶν μὲν τοῖς ἑχ-
θροῖς ὑπαρχουσῶν δυνάμεων τὰς μεγίστας ἀφελεῖν,
ὧν δ' ἐνέλειπε τῇ πόλει, ταῦτα προσθεῖναι; ταῦτα
τοίνυν ἅπαντα τέπρακται τοῖς ἑμοῖς ψηφίσμασι
καὶ τοῖς ἑμοῖς πολιτεύμασιν, αἶ καὶ βεβουλευ-
μένα, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐὰν ἄνευ φρόνου τις
βούληται σκοπεῖν, ὁρθῶς εὐρήσει καὶ πεπραγμένα
πάσῃ δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ τὸν ἐκάστου καιρὸν οὐ παρε-
θέντα* οὐδ' ἀγνοηθέντα οὐδὲ προεθέντα† ὑπ' ἑμοῦ.
καὶ ὅσα εἰς ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς δύνανται καὶ λογισμὸν
ἤκεν, οὐδὲν ἐλλειφθέν. εἰ δὲ ἢ δαίμονός τις ἢ
τύχης ἰσχύς ἢ στρατηγῶν φαυλότης ἢ τῶν προδι-
δόντων τὰς πόλεις ὑμῶν κακία ἢ πάντα ταῦτα
ἅμα ἐλυμαίνετο τοῖς ὅλοις, ἕως ἀνέτρεψε,‡ τί
Δημοσθένης ἀδικεῖ; εἰ δ' οἷός ἦν ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν
κατὰ τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ τάξιν, εἷς ἐν ἐκάστη τῶν Ἑλλη-
νίδων πόλεων ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο, μᾶλλον δ' εἰ ἓνα ἄνδρα
μόνον Θετταλία καὶ ἓνα ἄνδρα Ἀρκαδία ταῦτά
φρονοῦντα ἔσχεν ἑμοί, οὐδεὶς οὔτε τῶν ἔξω Πυλῶν
Ἑλλήνων οὔτε τῶν εἴσω τοῖς παροῦσι κακοῖς ἐκί-
χρητ' ἂν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἂν ὄντες ἐλεύθεροι καὶ
αὐτόνομοι μετὰ πάσης ἀδείας ἀσφαλῶς ἐν εὐδαι-

* καθίηται.

† προδοθείηται.

‡ αἰστροψέ.

μονία τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἄκουσιν πατρίδας, τῶν τοσούτων καὶ τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀθηναίοις ἔχοντες χάριν δι' ἐμέ. ἵνα δ' εἰδῆτε ὅτι πολλῶ τῷς λόγοις ἐλάττωσι χρῶμαι τῶν ἔργων, εὐλαβούμενος τὸν φθόνον, λέγε μοι ταυτὶ καὶ ἀνάγνωθι λαβὼν [τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν βοηθειῶν κατὰ τὰ ἐμὰ ψηφίσματα.]

ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ ΒΟΗΘΕΙΩΝ.*

Ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα πράττειν, Αἰσχίνη, τὸν καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν πολίτην δεῖ, ὃν κατοξθουμένων μὲν, ὧ γῇ καὶ θεοί, μεγίστοις† ἀναμφισβητήτως ὑπῆρχεν εἶναι, καὶ τὸ δικαίως προσῆν, ὥς‡ ἐτέρως δὲ συμβάντων τὸ γοῦν εὐδοκιμεῖν περίεστι καὶ τὸ μηδένᾶ μέμφεσθαι τὴν πόλιν μηδὲ τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ τὴν τύχην κακίζειν τὴν οὕτω τὰ πράγματα κρίνασαν, οὐ μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἀποστάντα τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ πόλει, μισθώσαντα δ' αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐναντίοις, τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καιροὺς ἀντὶ τῶν τῆς πατρίδος θεραπεύειν, οὐδὲ τὸν μὲν πράγματα ἄξια τῆς πόλεως ὑποστάντα λέγειν καὶ γράφειν καὶ μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων προελόμενον βασκαίνειν, ἐὰν δέ τις ἰδίᾳ τι λυπήσῃ, τοῦτο μεμνησθαι καὶ τηρεῖν, οὐδὲ γ' ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν ἄδικον

* ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ. ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. † ἐν μεγίστοις ἀγαθοῖς. ‡ ὥν.

καὶ ὑποῦλον, ὃ σὺ ποιεῖς πολλάκις. ἔστι γάρ, ἔστιν ἡσυχία δικαία καὶ συμφέρουσα τῇ πόλει, ἣν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ὑμεῖς ἀπλῶς ἄγετε. ἀλλ' οὐ ταύτην οὗτος ἄγει τὴν ἡσυχίαν, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀποστάς ὅταν αὐτῷ δόξη τῆς πολιτείας (πολλάκις δὲ δοκεῖ) φυλάττει ὀπηνίκε' * ἔστ' ἐμεστοὶ τοῦ συνεχῶς λέγοντος ἢ παρὰ τῆς τύχης τι συμβέβηκεν ἐναντίωμα ἢ ἄλλο τι δύσκολον γέγοιε (πολλὰ δὲ τὰνθρώπινα)· εἴτ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ῥήτωρ ἐξαίφνης ἐκ τῆς ἡσυχίας ὥσπερ πνεῦμ' ἐφάνη, καὶ πεφρασκηκῶς καὶ συνειλοχῶς† ῥήματα καὶ λόγους συνείρει τούτους σαφῶς καὶ ἀπνευστί, ὄντησιν μὲν οὐδεμίαν φέροντας οὐδ' ἀγαθοῦ κτῆσιν οὐδενός, συμφορὰν δὲ τῷ τυχόντι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ κοινὴν αἰσχύνην. καίτοι ταύτης τῆς μελέτης καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας Λίσχινη, εἴπερ ἐκ ψυχῆς δικαίας ἐγίγνετο καὶ τὰ τῆς πατρίδος συμφέροντα προηρημένης, τοὺς καρπούς ἔδει γενναίους καὶ καλοὺς καὶ πᾶσιν ὠφελίμους εἶναι, συμμαχίας πόλεων, πόρους χρημάτων, ἐμπορίου κατασκευήν, νόμων συμφερόντων θέσεις, τοῖς ἀποδειχθεῖσιν ἐχθροῖς ἐναντιώματα.

Τούτων γὰρ ἀπάντων ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἅνω χρόνοις ἐξέτασις, καὶ ἔδωκεν ὁ παρελθὼν χρόνος πολλὰς ἀποδείξεις ἀνδρὶ καλῷ τε καὶ ἀγαθῷ, ἐν οἷς οὐδαμοῦ σὺ

* ὑμεῖς ἐστε.

† συνειλοχῶς.

Φανήσει γεγονώς, οὐ πρῶτος, οὐ δεύτερος, οὐ τρίτος, οὐ τέταρτος, οὐ πέμπτος, οὐχ ἕκτος, οὐχ ὀποστοσοῦν, οὐκ οὖν ἐπὶ γε οἷς ἡ πατρις κηζάνετο. τίς γὰρ συμμάχια σοῦ κράξαντος γέγονε τῇ πόλει; τίς δὲ βοήθεια ἢ κτήσις* εὐνοίας ἢ δόξης; τίς δὲ πρεσβεία; τίς διακονία δι' ἣν ἡ πόλις ἐντιμότερα γέγονε; τί τῶν οἰκείων ἢ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ ξενικῶν, οἷς ἐπέστης, ἐπηνάρθωται διὰ σέ; ποῖαι τριήρεις; ποῖα βέλη; ποῖοι νεώσοικοι;† τίς ἐπισκευὴ τειχῶν; ποῖον ἵππικόν; τί τῶν ἀπάντων σὺ χρήσιμος εἶ; τίς ἢ τοῖς εὐπόροις ἢ τοῖς ἀπόροις πολιτικὴ καὶ κοινὴ βοήθεια χρημάτων παρὰ σοῦ; οὐδεμία. ἀλλ', ὦ τῶν, εἰ μηδὲν τούτων, εὐνοιά γε καὶ προθυμία; ποῦ; πότε; ὅστις, ὦ πάντων ἀδικώτατε, οὐδ' ὅτε ἅπαντες, ὅσοι πάποτ' ἐφθέγγαντο ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐπέδιδον, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον Ἀριστόνικος τὸ συνέιλεγμένον εἰς τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν ἀργύριον, οὐδὲ τότε οὔτε παρῆλθες οὔτ' ἐπέδωκας οὐδέν, οὐκ ἀπορῶν, πῶς γάρ; ὅς γε κεκληρονόμηκας μὲν τῶν Φίλωνος τοῦ κηδεστοῦ χρημάτων πλείονων‡ ἢ πεντεταλάντων, διτάλαντον δ' εἶχες ἔρανον δωρεὰν παρὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τῶν συμμαχοῶν ἐφ' οἷς ἐλυμήνω τὸν τριηραρχικὸν νόμον. ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ λόγον ἐκ λόγου λέγων τοῦ παρόντος ἑμαυτὸν ἐκκρούσω, παραλείψω ταῦτα. ἀλλ' ὅτι

* βοήθεια ἐκ τῆς σῆς εὐνοίας καὶ δόξης. † νεώσοικοι. ‡ πλείον.

γ' οὐχὶ δι' ἔνδειαν οὐκ ἐπέδωκας, ἐκ τούτων δῆλον, ἀλλὰ φυλάττων τὸ μηδὲν ἐναντίον γενέσθαι παρὰ σοῦ τούτοις οἷς ἅπαντα πολιτεύῃ. ἐν τίσιν οὖν σὺ νεανίας καὶ πηνίκα λαμπρός; ἤνικ' ἂν εἰπεῖν κατὰ τούτων τι δέῃ, ἐν τούτοις λαμπροφωνότατος, μνημονικώτατος, ὑποκριτῆς ἄριστος, τραγικὸς Θεοκρίνης.

Εἵτα τῶν πρότερον γεγενημένων ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν μέμνησαι. καὶ καλῶς ποιεῖς. οὐ μέντοι δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς τετελευτηκότας εὐνοίαν ὑπάρχουσιν προλαβόντα παρ' ὑμῶν πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐξετάζειν καὶ παραβάλλειν ἐμὲ τὸν νῦν ζῶντα μεθ' ὑμῶν. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε τῶν πάντων ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ζῶσι πᾶσιν ὕπεστί τις ἢ πλείων ἢ ἐλάττων φθόνος, τοὺς δὲ τεθνεῶτας οὐδὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οὐδεὶς ἔτι μισεῖ; οὕτως οὖν ἐχόντων τούτων τῇ φύσει, πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ ἑμαυτοῦ νῦν ἐγὼ κρίνωμαι καὶ θεωρῶμαι;† μηδαμῶς· οὔτε γὰρ δίκαιον οὔτ' ἴσον,‡ Αἰσχίνη, ἀλλὰ πρὸς σὲ καὶ ἄλλον εἴ τινα βούλει τῶν ταυτά σοι προηρημένων καὶ ζώντων. κακῆϊνο σκόπει. πότερον κάλλιον καὶ ἄμεινον τῇ πόλει διὰ τὰς τῶν πρότερον εὐεργεσίας, οὓσας ὑπερμεγέθεις, οὐ μὲν οὖν εἴποι τις ἂν ἡλίκας, τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν παρόντα βίον γιγνομένας εἰς ἀχαριστίαν καὶ προπηλακισμόν ἄγειν, ἢ πᾶσιν, ὅσοι τι μετ'

* κρίνωμαι.

† θεωρῶμαι.

‡ ἴσον ἐστί.

εὐνοίας πράττουσι, τῆς παρὰ τούτων τιμῆς καὶ
 Φιλανθρωπίας μετεῖναι; καὶ μὴν εἰ καὶ τοῦτ' ἄρα
 δεῖ με εἰπεῖν, ἢ μὲν ἐμὴ πολιτεία καὶ προαίρεσις,
 ἂν τις ὀρθῶς σκοπῇ, ταῖς τῶν τότε ἐπαινουμένων
 ἀνδρῶν ὁμοία καὶ ταῦτὰ βουλομένη φανήσεται, ἢ
 δὲ σὴ ταῖς τῶν τοὺς τοιούτους τότε συκοφαντούν-
 των· δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι καὶ κατ' ἐκείνους ἦσαν τινες
 [τοὺς χρόνους], οἳ διέσυρον μὲν τοὺς ὄντας* τότε,
 τοὺς δὲ πρότερον γεγενημένους ἐπήνου, βάσκανον
 πρᾶγμα καὶ ταῦτ' οὖντες σοί. εἴτα λέγεις ὡς
 οὐδὲν ὁμοίός εἰμι ἐκείνοις ἐγώ; σὺ δ' ὁμοίος, Αἰ-
 σχίνη; ὁ δ' ἀδελφὸς ὁ σός; ἄλλος δέ τις τῶν νῦν
 ῥητόρων; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδένα φημί. ἀλλὰ πρὸς
 τοὺς ζῶντας, ὦ χρηστέ, ἵνα μηδὲν ἄλλ' εἶπω, τὸν
 ζῶντα ἐξετάζει καὶ τοὺς καθ' αὐτόν,† ὥσπερ τὰλλα
 πάντα, τοὺς ποιητάς, τοὺς χοροὺς, τοὺς ἀγωνιστάς.
 ὁ Φιλάμμων οὐχ ὅτι Γλαύκου τοῦ Καρυστίου καὶ
 τινων ἐτέρων πρότερον γεγενημένων ἀθλητῶν ἀσθενέ-
 στερος ἦν, ἀστεφάνωτος ἐκ τῆς Ὀλυμπίας ἀπῆει,
 ἀλλ' ὅτι τῶν εἰσελθόντων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄριστα ἐμά-
 χητο, ἵστεφανοῦτο καὶ νικῶν ἀνηγορεύετο. καὶ σὺ
 πρὸς τοὺς νῦν ὄρα με ῥήτορας, πρὸς σαυτόν, πρὸς
 ὅντινα βούλει τῶν ἀπάντων· οὐδενὶ ἐξίσταμαι. ὦν,
 ὅτε μὲν τῇ πόλει τὰ βέλτιστα ἐλέσθαι παρῇν,
 ἐφαμίλλου τῆς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα εὐνοίας ἐν κοινῷ

* οἱ διασυροντες τους οντας.

† κατα σαυτον.

παῖσι κειμένης, ἐγὼ κράτιστα λέγων ἐφαινόμην, καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ νόμοις καὶ πρεσβείαις ἅπαντα διωκεῖτο, ὑμῶν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἦν οὐδαμῶς, πλὴν εἰ τούτοις ἐπηρεάσαι τι θεοί· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἂ μήποτ' ὥφελε συνέβη, καὶ οὐκέτι συμβούλων ἀλλὰ τῶν τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις ὑπηρετούντων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος μισθαρνεῖν ἐτοίμων καὶ τῶν κολακεύειν ἑτέρους βουλομένων ἐξέτασις ἦν, τῆνικαῦτα σὺ καὶ τούτων ἕκαστος ἐν τάξει καὶ μέγας καὶ λαμπρὸς ἱπποτρόφος, ἐγὼ δ' ἄσθενής, ὁμολογῶ, ἀλλ' εὖνους μᾶλλον ὑμῶν τουτοισί.

Δύο δ', ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ταῦτα τὸν φύσει μέτριον πολίτην ἔχειν δεῖ (οὕτω γάρ μοι περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ λέγοντι ἀνεπιφθονώτατον εἰπεῖν), ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις τὴν τοῦ γενναίου καὶ τοῦ πρωτείου τῇ πόλει προαίρεσιν διαφυλάττειν,† ἐν παντὶ δὲ καιρῷ καὶ πράξει τὴν εὖνοιαν· τούτου γάρ ἡ φύσις κυρία, τοῦ δὲ δύνασθαι καὶ ἰσχύειν ἕτερα.‡ ταύτην τοίνυν παρ' ἐμοὶ μεμενηκυῖαν εὐρήσετε ἀπλῶς. ὁρᾶτε δέ. οὐκ ἐξαιτούμενος, οὐκ Ἀμφικτυονικὰς δίκας ἐπαγόντων, οὐκ ἀπειλούντων, οὐκ ἐπαγγελλομένων, οὐχὶ τοὺς § καταράτους τούτους ὥσπερ θηρία μοι προσβαλλόντων, οὐδαμῶς ἐγὼ προδίδωκα τὴν εἰς ὑμᾶς εὖνοιαν. τὸ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθύς ὀρθὴν καὶ δικαίαν τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς πολιτείας

* τα βελτίστα. † διὰ διαφυλάττειν. ‡ ἕτερα. § οἱ τοῖς.

εἰλόμην, τὰς τιμὰς, τὰς δυναστείας, τὰς εὐδοξίας
 τὰς τῆς πατρίδος θεραπεύειν, ταύτας αὖξιν, μετὰ
 τούτων εἶναι. οὐκ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ἑτέρων εὐτυχήμασι
 φαιδρὸς ἐγὼ καὶ γεγηθὼς κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν περιέρ-
 χομαι, τὴν δεξιὰν προτείνων καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενος
 τούτοις οὓς ἂν ἐκεῖσε ἀπαγγέλλειν* οἶωμαι, τῶν δὲ
 τῆς πόλεως ἀγαθῶν πεφρικὼς ἀκούω† καὶ στένων καὶ
 κύπτων εἰς τὴν γῆν, ὥσπερ οἱ δυσσεβεῖς οὗτοι, οἱ
 τὴν μὲν πόλιν διασύρουσιν, ὥσπερ οὐχ αὐτοὺς δια-
 σύροντες, ὅταν τοῦτο ποιῶσιν, ἔξω δὲ βλέπουσι,
 καὶ ἐν οἷς ἀτυχησάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐτύχησεν
 ἕτερος, ταῦτ' ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ ὅπως τὸν ἅπαντα
 χρόνον διαμενεῖ φασὶ δεῖν τηρεῖν.

Μὴ δῆτ', ὧ πάντες θεοί, μηδεὶς ταῦθ' ὑμῶν
 ἐπινεύσειεν, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν καὶ τούτοις βελ-
 τίω τινὰ νοῦν καὶ φρένας ἐνθείητε, εἰ δ' ἄρ' ἔχουσιν
 ἀνιάτως, τούτους μὲν αὐτοὺς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐξώλεις
 καὶ προώλεις ἐν γῇ καὶ θαλάττῃ ποιήσατε,‡ ἡμῖν δὲ
 τοῖς λοιποῖς τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν ἐπηρτη-
 μένων φόβων δότε καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ.

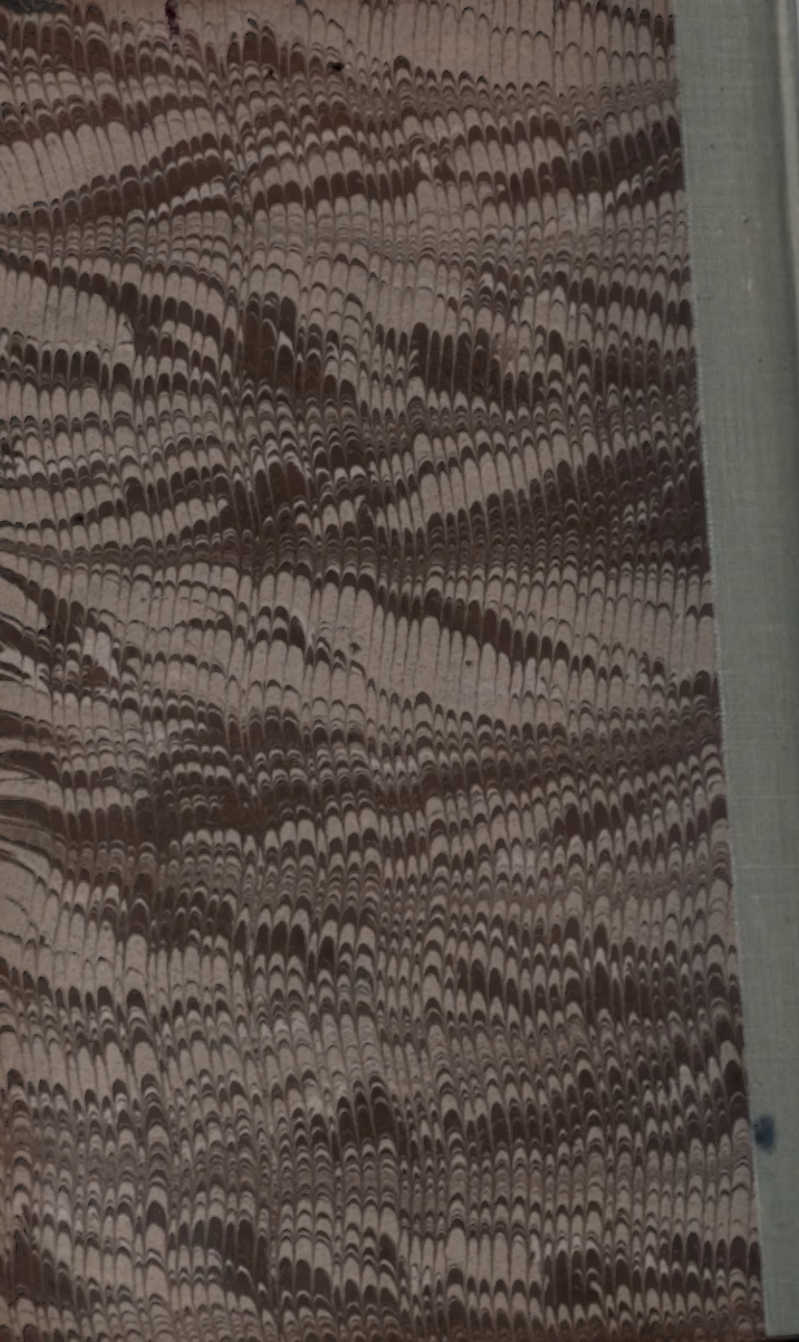
* ἀπαγγελεῖν.

† ἀκουων.

‡ ποιησαίτε.

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PA
3950
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Demosthenes
Oration of Demosthenes
upon the crown

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